DEFICIENCIES IN OUR HISTORY ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

MONTPELIER OCTOBER 16, 1846 BUTLER

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ADDRESSES

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AT MONTPELIER,

OCTOBER 16, 1846.

BY JAMES DAVIE BUTLER,

Professor in Norwich University.

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WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE CHARTER, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY, THE VERMONT DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JANUARY 15TH, 1777, THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION, 4TH OF JUNE, 1777, AND THE "SONG OF THE VERMONTERS," IN 1779.

BY JAMES DAVIE BUTLER,
Professor in Norwich University.

MONTPELIER:
EASTMAN & DANFORTH.

1846.

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ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens of Vermont:

The life of old nations is memory. In the old world travellers daily behold great events and the *scenes* of them—not only commemorated by monuments, but canonized by chapels and altars.

Young nations live in *hope* rather than in memory. (While pressing forward to those things which are before, they forget those which are behind.) This truth finds many exemplifications in our history.

A circular was recently sent to every town in Vermont that was incorporated when our State independence was declared, requesting information concerning the 71 *signers* of that declaration. It was vouchsafed only *one* answer. Our declaration of State independence was never *published* in this State until last summer, and then only in fugitive *newspapers*. The papers of our first and most memorable *Governor* were sold to a pedlar with paper *rags*

The *cannon* taken (in defence of our frontier) at Bennington lie unclaimed at Washington. The *maps*, captured at the same place, were used as *curtains* until all, save one, perished. The grenadiers' *arms* and drum there taken, and presented as a trophy to our State council were received with a promise that, according to the donor's request, they should be kept in the council-chamber as a memorial of the glorious action fought at Wallumscoik. But this trophy has been vilely thrown away.

Properly speaking we have no *rostrum*. A rostrum is a speaker's stand begirt with memorials of vanquished foes. We have *none*.

Facts such as these prepare us to expect a universal apathy in regard to our history, and move our special wonder that we can boast *so many* historians, and several worthy of no common praise.

It is no great discredit to our historians that they are in many respects deficient, since they were forced to make brick without straw, the collections needful for the adequate execution of their task, which are still imperfect, not having been fairly begun, when most of our chroniclers wrote.

It is simply because no one else could be found to stand in the gap, that I venture to appear before you at this time, inasmuch as I must appear to the same disadvantage with our historians. I have, indeed, had access to sources of knowledge which were hid from their eyes;

but I have enjoyed this privilege only a few days, and under the double pressure of ministerial and professional labors, as well as with one foot on the *cradle*, in the judgment of many a much greater impediment.

The subject which I would invite you to consider, is certain deficiencies in our State histories.

The controversy of Vermont with New York has never been described as its merits, and the richness of materials regarding it, demand. I have drawn up a list—which, pardon me, I do not mean to read—of fifty questions concerning it which demand elucidation. No historian hints—what every historian should have clearly shown—that that struggle was not merely about the price of land, but a conflict between New England and New York *principles*—those of the Puritan and of the Patroon;—between our township system, with local elections and taxes, and New York centralization.

I am constrained to pass in utter silence, however, the manifold short-comings of our writers in respect to our relations to all our sister States.

The part Vermont took in the Revolution is rather shadowed forth than distinctly traced by our historians.

They claim for us indeed a share in the taking of Ticonderoga, as well as in the siege of St. Johns; in the battle near Bennington, and perhaps in the taking of Burgoyne.

But, though much is said of battles as far off as Braddock's defeat, instead of a distinctive account of Vermont's military career, her exploits are so blended with those of the continentals, or so imperfectly detailed, as to lose all individuality.

As to the capture of Ticonderoga, it is said, men from Connecticut came to Vermont to engage Ethan Allen in the business. It is not hinted that Allen had ever before thought of such a project, even in his dreams. What is the fact? Allen's own testimony is, that when the men from Connecticut arrived in Bennington, he and other officers of the Green Mountain Boys were already deliberating upon a project for surprising that fortress; though whether such a measure would be agreeable to Congress or not, they could not for certain determine.

A full month before any step was taken in Connecticut, for seizing Ticonderoga, an agent, recently dispatched through Vermont to Montreal, thus wrote the committee of correspondence in Boston:

"*March* 29, 1775.

"One thing I must mention to be kept as a profound secret. The port of Ticonderoga must be seized as soon as possible, should

hostilities be committed by the king's troops. The people of the New Hampshire Grants have engaged to do this business; and in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for this job.

"This will effectually curb this province, and all the troops that may be sent here."

This last particular, the importance of Ticonderoga as the key alike of New England and Canada; the usefulness of the cannon there taken, at the siege of Boston and elsewhere; its having been thought worth sacrificing thousands of lives; its being surprised by men destitute of bayonets, of a *single* bayonet,—are particulars which one wonders our historians have not made more prominent, since all but one-sixth of those, who effected the surprise, were Green Mountain Boys, and this was the first offensive exploit in the war of our Independence.

The readiness of the Vermonters for the Revolution, even before hostilities began, is indubitable, but is not made manifest in our histories.

Among Slade's State papers, indeed, there is an assurance from the Vermonters given to New Hampshire and Massachusetts four weeks before the affray at Lexington, that "they shall always be ready for aid and assistance to those States, if, by the dispensations of Providence, they should be called thereto." I have found no allusion to this assurance in any history.

But the preparation of heart in Vermont for hostilities is attested by more particular evidence even than this. Seven weeks before the 19th of April, Ethan Allen wrote a leading man in Connecticut, promising a regiment of Green Mountain Boys in case of war. This letter is still extant in manuscript.

More than half a year before the war of the Revolution began, a rumor that the British had slain six men, and seized a depot of powder, electrified New England. A chronicler of those times says: "The heads of the Bennington body, of 2000 armed men, forthwith gave out orders that they should get ready to march."

Allow me next a glance at the invasion of Canada. None of our later historians give due credit to the diplomatic address of our Fay and Ira Allen, which contributed to the capture of the British fleet. After the fall of Montgomery, Gen. Wooster, who was sent for, to the command of the forces besieging Quebec, in despair of other assistance, wrote thus to Warner in Vermont: (2, 162:) "Let me beg of you to collect immediately as many men as you can, and somehow get into this country, and stay with us till we can have relief from the colonies. Let your men be sent on by tens, twenties,

thirties, forties or fifties, as they can be collected." Within eleven days from the writing of this letter at Montreal, in the dead of winter, Green Mountain Boys were on their march for Quebec. In about two months the force of effective men before that city was almost doubled by reinforcements under Warner. But for this seasonable relief, the retreat from Canada might have been a rout, or our whole army there have been forced to capitulate, (or, to use a phrase very common soon after, might have been Burgoyned.)

Some of our histories mention the arrival of twenty-seven men from Massachusetts before Quebec. They are all silent respecting —what it much more behoved them to relate—ten times as many recruits from our own State. Nor do they, with one exception, so much as once mention the name of Warner in all their notices of the winter campaign in Canada.

In relation to Allen's attack on Montreal, our historians say that Brown was, by some means, prevented from co-operating with Allen as he had agreed to do. The question, by *what* means, still remains unanswered. The answer to it might show that the blame of Allen's finding captivity for himself, when he sought the capture of Montreal, is not to be charged solely to his own fool-hardiness.

Our State histories say nothing of the supplies forwarded from Bennington to Ticonderoga, in 1776, at a time when, but for such assistance, that fortress might have been lost.

The next day, after receiving a call for flour, the Committee answered, that, without an hour's delay, they had sought for wheat, and found 1000 bushels ; would send on what was ground forthwith, and the rest as soon as it could be manufactured. They add these words to the commander at Ticonderoga : "It is difficult to transport what we have already on hand ; for our militia, even before we received your letter, asking assistance, left us almost to a man, marched, and have doubtless joined you before this.

This relief was afforded at a crisis when the tories about Albany cut off all hopes of succor from that quarter, and when the troops at Ticonderoga had bread for but sixteen days, and were expecting to be blockaded.

Our historians say that on the evacuation of Ticonderoga, our Council of Safety resolved to raise all the troops they could to act against Burgoyne.

None of them, however, save Ira Allen, tell us how, with an empty treasury, they could raise an army, as it were, by a stamp of the foot. The secret of this miracle—a regiment made ready for war in a fortnight—was an expedient proposed by Ira Allen himself, (at

sunrise, after a night spent in devising ways and means,) namely: to confiscate instantly all the property of all tories, except such articles as humanity required for their families.

But even Allen fails to bring out fully the alacrity and energy of our fathers during this critical campaign. A man in Connecticut writes, that agents of Vermont had come thither to buy arms to the amount of £4000; and, failing to obtain them, had gone further—with what success is to this day unknown. The militia of this State were chiefly at Ticonderoga, yet Warner writes: "I should be glad if a few hills of corn unhoed should not be a motive sufficient to detain men at home." Such was the rally that St. Clair, a few days after, writes thus: "The Vermont Convention have given such proofs of their readiness to concur in any measure for the public safety that it would be impertinent to press them now.

Our historians would have made it plainer what part Vermont had in the taking of Burgoyne, if they had described more fully how sacrificingly she removed or destroyed all crops, cattle, and carriages, that were in danger of being seized for his use, and thus *took off his chariot wheels.* They might have shown the revolution in Burgoyne's feelings effected by the battle of Bennington, and the part Vermont was thought by him to have played in that action, had they contrasted two of his letters, one written just before, the other just after that battle. Aug. 12, he writes to the commander of the expedition against Vermont: "Try the affections of the country—cross the mountains to Rockingham and Brattleboro'—bring me 1300 horses or more." Did he know by instinct that this State was a nursery of good horses?

August 20, eight days afterwards, he writes: "The Hampshire grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left."

Truly he needed not send again to try the affections of such a country!

The exertions of Vermont against Burgoyne are liable to be underrated, because our histories pass in silence the false rumors which then extensively prevailed, and had all the effect of realities. Ticonderoga was evacuated by unanimous vote of a full council of war. It was reported by more than one that he could tell when that fortress was sold, and for how much. One hundred and twenty-eight cannon were there lost. This number was exaggerated to 300. No artillery men were there slain or captured. It was rumored that none of them escaped. The British built no fortification in Castle-

moment be busy at its work of death; while the bosoms of all were burning to seize the sword or musket and fly to their relief or mingle in the common defence of their endangered country. Any further proceedings with the subject on hand, at such a moment was soon found to be impossible, and the greater number began to clamor for an immediate adjournment. But while a few, who had shared less than others in the panic, or were more deeply impressed with the importance of accomplishing an object, at this time, now so nearly attained, were vainly attempting to resist the current, till time was gained for reflection, an unwonted darkness, as if by special interposition of Providence, fell suddenly upon the earth. The lightnings began to gleam through the dark and threatening masses of clouds that had enveloped the sky, and the long, deep roll of thunder was heard in every quarter of the heavens, giving warning of the severe and protracted tempest, which now soon burst over them with a fury that precluded all thought of venturing abroad. The prospect of being thus confined to the place for some hours, if not for the whole day, taking from the movers all inducement for immediate adjournment, they now began to take a cooler view of the subject; and soon, by common consent, the business on hand was resumed. The reading of the Constitution was finished, and, while the storm was still howling around them, and the thunders breaking over their heads, that instrument was adopted and became the supreme law of the land.* One thing more, however, remained to be done; and that was to constitute a provisional government to act till the one pointed out by the Constitution could be established. This was now effected by the appointment of that small body of men, 13 in number, it is believed, since known as THE OLD COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF VERMONT, and noted alike for the remarkable powers with which they were invested, and the remarkable manner in which those powers were exercised: For from the

*This Constitution was never submitted to the people for ratification, but by general consent acquiesced in without that usual formality.

nature of the case, and the emergency in which these men were called to act, they were almost necessarily invested with the extraordinary combination of legislation, Judicial and Executive power. But this power, absolute and dictatorial as it was, they never abused, nor exercised but for the public good, and in this they were cheerfully sustained by the people, who felt that they were thus not only sustaining the cause of Freedom, but the laws which were of their own providing, and which they were now anxious should be strictly obeyed.*

To that unique assembly, whose origin we have just described, we now propose to introduce our auditors at its most interesting and important session. In obedience to the order of the Convention, they had promptly assembled at Manchester, and here, conscious that the eyes of all were turned anxiously upon them in expectation that they would provide for the safety of their infant State, whose now fearfully menaced destinies had been committed into their hands, they commenced the worse than Egyptian task devolving on them—that of making adequate provisions for the public defence, while the means were almost wholly wanting. For with scarcely the visible means in the whole settlement, in its then exhausted and unsettled condition, of raising and supporting a single company of soldiers, they were expected to raise an army; without the shadow of a public Treasury, and without any credit as a State, and without the power of taxing the people, which, by the Constitution just adopted, could only be done by a legislature not yet called, they were required to do that for which half a million was needed. Such were the difficulties by which they were met at the outset—difficulties, which, to men of ordinary stamina and mental resources, would have been insurmountable. But the members of the Old

*The council of safety continued to exercise all these powers till March 1778, when it was superceded by the legislature, then first convening, in all its civil functions, while those relating to war were transferred to a new body appointed by the legislature, called the Board of War.

drew all the national spades and pickaxes, and the enemy's vessels were cruising on the lake.

Particulars such as these are not the pomp and pride of war; but they are worthy to be known, though unrecorded by our historians.

Let us next remark certain deficiencies in our histories with regard to the tories—the worst foes of our fathers.

From the best histories of Vermont one would scarcely believe there was such a class of men, for their name is seldom mentioned—never by Thompson, with manifest reference to Vermont. Doubtless they were fewer than the British hoped when they struggled so perseveringly, by threats and promises, to make Vermont a crown-province—and than Governor Morris feared, when he thus wrote to Congress, (3. 319:) "Disagreeable as it may be to tell or to hear this truth, yet a truth it is, that very many of those villains—the Vermonters—only want a New England reason, or, if you like the expression better, a plausible pretext to desert the American States, New Vermont among the rest."

Yet, in a single act of the Legislature, there is a list of 108 tories from twenty-nine towns. Half the men in Strafford and Thetford fled to Burgoyne—others repaired to the British on their march to Bennington. The expenses of war and government were, in a great part, defrayed by the avails of tory estates, though sold at a sacrifice by auction.

Records are not wanting of tories that were laid under bonds, or imprisonment, for concealing arms and ammunition—for spying out the nakedness of the land and betraying it to the enemy; of some that were banished—of others overtaken and killed as they were fleeing. The most unique punishment to which they were subjected was decreed by the Council at Bennington, in January, 1778, after this fashion: "Let the overseer of the tories detach ten of them, with proper officers to take the charge and march them in two distinct files, from this place, through the Green Mountains, for breaking a path through the snow. Let each man be provided with three days provisions. Let them march and tread the snow, in said road, of suitable width for a sleigh with a span of horses. Order them to return, marching in the same manner, with all convenient speed, (4. 32.) Let them march at six o'clock to-morrow morning,"—early rising.

The practice of confiscating the property of tories originated in Vermont, though it was imitated by most other States. In vain did the sufferers endeavor to take advantage of certain stipulations in their favor in the terms of Burgoyne's surrender. Our fathers de-

cided that none could be so benefitted but those who were at that time in his camp. Toryism snapped asunder the bands of society. It said, "Trust ye not in any brother, for every brother may utterly supplant." It tended to make life here what it was in France during the Reign of Terror—the infinite conjugation of the verb *suspect*. How many were wrongfully suspected! How many were filled with revengefulness!

Our histories can never do justice to those to whom we owe our independence till they tell us, as they have not yet done, how unfalteringly they braved intestine war—personal, as well as public, enmity.

Our histories relate few Indian depredations during the Revolution. The burning of, now and then, a single house—the capture of a few prisoners, usually two or three at a time, and the destruction of Royalton—are the substance of their accounts. There was little more to relate.

But much more was to be expected, and *was* expected. The Indians had desolated so many towns in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and three times attacked the first settlement in Vermont, though in the extreme south of the State,—why should they not fall with redoubled fury and frequency upon those who were more in their neighborhood, and had even ventured as near them as New Haven and Newbury? They were stimulated to attack our frontiers by Johnson's and Carlton's intrigues, and appeals to their hopes and their fears. They were enticed to the same enterprise by the arts of fugitive tories, burning for revenge and plunder—eager to show them the way to slaughter. Doubtless our possession of Ticonderoga, at first, and afterwards the cutting of Hazen's road, tended to curb their ravages; but other circumstances, though they have eluded the research of our historians, contributed, perhaps, even in a greater degree, to the safety of our frontiers. I will glance at one or two. As we have already seen, our preparations for defence were more efficient than represented in histories.

At the outset of the Revolution Ethan Allen dispatched messengers to win over the Indians—at least, to neutrality. At the same time he sent them a characteristic letter in this style:

"I know how to shoot and ambush like Indians. My foes stand all along close together, rank and file. My men and your men shall eat and drink together, and fight together against those who first began to kill us. If you wish to remain in peace, you need not fight. But come and see us. I will give you whatever you want—bread, knives, tomahawks, paint, belts, blankets, money, rum."

Thus and by other means, many Indians were induced to come to Newbury throughout the war, some to settle in that region—many to get presents—many to trade, and some to enter our service as scouts and spies.

Some of the Indian chiefs who come to Newbury were sent to Washington's army, and there treated with marked attention, as well to gain intelligence from them, as to convince them of our power and good will. Other chiefs furnished with a list of questions for which they were to procure answers, were sent as spies into Canada, and the intelligence thus procured was highly valued by Gates, Schuyler and Washington. On the whole, Indian incursions may not have done us more harm, than the information they furnished, as to the disposition of the Canadians, the forts, forces, reinforcements, supplies, measures and projects of the enemy did us good.

Though a hundred letters are extant concerning our relations to the Indians at this time, I must content myself with one extract from one written by General Bailey at Newbury, many years after the close of the war :

"I could not with safety leave the frontier where I was settled and join the army. I thought I could be of more service to our cause by securing an extensive frontier from the depredations of the Canada Indians, which by making friendship with them I effected, for at least 200 miles.

"My exertions were such that I was watched and way-laid night and day, by the enemy from Canada—my house rifled, papers destroyed, son carried captive, and maltreated, only because he was my son, and would not discover to them how his father obtained intelligence of their movements. To the close of the war, I was employed by Washington to keep friendship with the Indians, and gain intelligence of the enemy in Canada."

It has lately transpired that President Wheelock interceded in our behalf, with his former pupil, Brandt, the Indian chief, and that not without success. Moreover, proof is not wanting that the British Colonel Johnson was taken prisoner by John Warner, but released on condition of the Indians being restrained from Vermont. But our frontier settlements, however safe, were by no means secure,—rather out of danger than free from apprehensions. One of our historians narrates a panic in Windham County ;—he might have spoken of another in Windsor County, when the inhabitants along White River fled, many of them by night, lighted by brands of fire, down the river to Lebanon; and of another in Orange County, (4.107), when, says an eye witness, families are this moment rushing into

Newbury, and for sixty miles they are upon a doubt whether to remove or not.

Women yet live who can testify of such days when they lived in fear of the fate of Miss McRea, the bride of Ft. Edward, that Gertrude of Wyoming in real life,—when every rustle of a shaken leaf seemed an Indian tread; every tree an Indian covert—every window a mark for his rifle, every hamlet fully assured that it was singled out, above all others, as the victim of the savage.

The relation sustained by our fathers to Indians and tories, as well as their defensive measures having been slightly noticed, and their conflicts against the British so blended with those of the Continentals, by our historians—it is not too much to say that the part Vermont took in the military exploits of the Revolution is *yet to be* written.

I cannot speak as I would of the negociations with the British in Canada, which turned the last two years of the war into diplomatic intrigues, but I must not pass them unnoticed.

The right of Vermont to adopt policy for power, when Massachusetts and New Hampshire were plotting a Poland-like partition of her territory,—when every continental soldier turned his back upon her,—when New York had no voice save to cry *confiscation*,—when an army as large as Burgoyne's was concentrating against her alone, can scarcely be doubted. But for such a course, the fate of Royalton would have been that of all her towns.

Vermont would have yielded to Britain sooner than to New York. Some have hence taken occasion to say that Vermont was inclined to yield to Britain, as if because one evil is greater than another the less evil is a good,—as if because Andre prefered being shot to being hung we should infer that he wished to be shot.

Our historians have not failed to refute this slander. They have also related how the negotiations with Canada drove Congress to acknowledge the Independence of Vermont, and how they kept an army as large as Burgoyne's inactive. It might have been added, that a few soft words rendered repeated invasions, full of sound and fury, though carried as far as Burgoyne's, so fruitless, as to rssemble oceans into tempests rocked to waft a feather, or to fulfil an old saying in a new sense—

> "The King of France with forty thousand men,
> Marched up a hill and then — marched down again."

The venerable Chipman, in the life of his yet more venerable brother, has broken a lance not without a wound, though in his old age, against the assailants of our leaders in their graves. From his reasoning it seems clear, that the Vermont diplomatists never, in all the

armistice, professed loyalty to the crown, never lifted a finger to reconcile any man to it, and that nothing has been proved against them which is inconsistent with their avowed objects, namely, to keep the British army inactive, and to prevail upon Congress to vote the admission of Vermont into the Union as a 14th State. This sort of negative defence of the Green Mountain Chiefs is enough for their acquital. Another may be made of a more positive character by means of documents to which our historians do not seem to have had access.

Years before, charges of toryism were brought against Vermont by those who were not authorized to cast the first stone, and whose principal reason for thinking her tory was that they had done so much to make her so.

Our truce with Canada was rather a help than a hindrance to the last great struggle of the war—the operations against Cornwallis. It was either unknown to Washington or understood by him to be a political manœuvre. In the midst of the armistice he wrote to Stark, commander in the northern department: "I doubt not that your requisitions to call forth the force of the Green Mountains will be attended with success." Requisitions, remember, to defend New York, their bitterest foe. Stark's reply was, that his requisitions *were* attended with success,—that upon a sudden alarm five hundred and fifty mounted men from Vermont joined his troops in a few hours. Near the beginning of the armistice Schuyler had written to Washington: "It is believed, that large offers have been made the Hampshire Grants, but that nothing will induce the bulk of them to desert the common cause."

Washington was privy to the secret policy of Vermont for some time—probably more than a month—before the surrender of Cornwallis. This fact, stated but by one of our historians, seems to have been discredited by all the rest. It is established by a letter, long given up for lost, (but recently discovered,) and so alluded to by our historians as to excite suspicions that they had never seen it. Washington, therefore, does not appear to have been perplexed by a British officer's apology for killing a Vermonter in a skirmish—an apology which enraged Gen. Stark and filled Vermont itself from side to side, with a tempest of indignation.

The only evil suggested by Washington as resulting from our diplomatic intercourse with the British was encouraging them to overrate the proportion of tories among us. But what was this encouragement to that they would have taken from the conquest of Vermont, which, but for being amused with hopes, they would have ac-

complished? The one was *shadow* the other *substance*. The height of their expectation was not greater than the depth of their disappointment.

The only remaining charge seems to be that our cabinet acted with bad faith toward the British. But, as the British were the chief sufferers by our policy, they would have been first to cry treason had there been any treason. They seem to have viewed themselves as worsted by their own weapon, diplomatic finesse. The falsehoods told them were not palpable, and will be judged tenderly by those who hold stratagems are lawful in war, and that it cannot be wrong to deceive him whom it is right to kill. The Governor of Canada, not discouraged by failures, continued this pen and ink warfare, more years than Troy was beseiged, and even sent to Burlington an envoy, who is plausibly supposed to have been his late Majesty, George the Fourth.

Was it not then worth while for our leaders to make themselves of no repuation for a time, that without drawing a sword, without thwarting the plans of Washington, without injustice even to our enemies, they might avert the extremest peril? Luther's words were half battles, theirs were more.

In all our Histories there is a lack of characteristic minutiæ. We ask for face-to-face details, we receive far off generalties "where every something being blent together turns to a wild of nothing."

Seemingly trifling particulars catch our eyes as we gaze at a landscape; they affect the eye-witnesses of events—they bring the light of other days around us as we listen to the narrative of old age;—they are the sparkling fountains—abstractions are the vapid stream.

Some writers may have neglected such fragments, deeming it beneath the dignity of history to stoop and gather them, as if history like the Pope was never to be seen except gorgeous with trailing robes, or were to represent nations, as some picture books represent kings wearing crowns and holding sceptres—even in bed. So far as the suppression of picture-like details has been a sin of ignorance, it is to be winked at, but not if it has proceeded from scorning them as nothing worth. Which of our historians might not profitably copy the following account of the evacuation of Ticonderoga, albeit it fell from the lips of a negro:—

"About 11 o'clock on Saturday night, orders were given by our Colonel to parade. We immediately obeyed. He then ordered our tents struck and carried to the battery. On doing this, the orders were to take up our packs and march, which we also did, passed the

General's house on fire, marched 20 miles without a halt, and then had a brush with the enemy."

How shall history hold the mirror up to nature if not by giving us the very words of the actors in bye gone times? Things cannot indeed be all described, then the world would not contain the books which would be written, but those parts, the least as well as the greatest, should be sought out, which most nearly produce the effect of the whole.

If the ballad writer be as influential as the legislator, why should our historians with one consent, refuse us, even in their notes and appendixes, a single specimen of the popular songs, the Marsailles hymns,—indicted by Rowley and others—sung at the crisis of our destiny.

Can we learn as much in regard to common schools at an early day from any of our histories, as from a single remark made to me by a woman, who had no thought of telling any great thing, that in the winter of 1780, her brother kept a school in one of the *two* rooms in his fathers log house in Sharon, there being then twenty-eight families in town and that there was no school for five winters afterwards! Only *two* of the sixty-eight settlers in Bennington made their mark; *all* of the 1006 petitioners to King George wrote their names, and Elkins, a boy from Peacham, when a prisoner in England, receiving a shilling a week from Dr. Franklin, paid out *four* coppers of it for tuition.

Do not facts like these throw light upon the popular intelligence and desire of knowledge?

What incident in our histories shows the inspiriting effect of the Bennington battle so strikingly as a trifle they all omit,—a rumor which straight way ran through New Hampshire, that Burgoyne himself was taken at Stillwater,—coming events cast their shadows before.

I would not willingly be ignorant that in 1764 there were only about 100 families between the mountains and the river—that a post-boat from Canada was taken soon after the seizure of Ticonderoga—that an express could be sent from Newbury to Boston in three days, cannon from Lake George to the same place in seventeen days—that the Vermont uniform was green with red facings—that rum even when it rose to $96, continental money, a gallon, was dealt out in the rations,—that Allen gave Warner 400 acres of land for cutting off the ear of a Yorker—that each Vermonter after the Bennington battle received $5 plunder money. Each of these trifles is a little window through which we can look into the distant past.

The little said in our histories in relation to religion, tends to disprove the assertion of Dr. Dwight, that "our first settlers were chiefly universalists and infidels." There is much to disprove it in the following details. Orthodox ministers were early settled in most towns; sermons longer than we can hear, and as searching were preached at the opening of every State Convention and Assembly;—requests for prayers abound in letters,—pamphlets then printed have beyond all comparison more allusions to the bible than to all other books together. When one would put General Bailey on his guard against tory liers-in-wait, he dropped in his path a paper with these words on it, "The Philistines be upon thee Samson."

The word of God was the law-book for all cases falling under no statute, and sentences were given according to its enactments. Where there was no church or preacher, meetings were held under trees and in private houses: such an assemblage delayed one day the burning of Royalton. My grand mother used to tell me that during the battle of Bennington, she and many others were met for prayer within the sound of cannon.

Our writers have not enough availed themselves of vivid particulars by way of indirect description.

What can give us a better idea what a long struggle was expected when hostilities began, or how our people rushed to the war, than these words, written one week after the bloodshed at Lexington from that quarter to this. "For heaven's sake, pay the closest attention to sowing and planting; do as much of it as possible, not for your own families merely. Do not think of coming down country to fight." What can draw and color more to the life the want of all things useful in war, during Burgoyne's invasion than these words of Stark, written at his quarters on the Connecticut:

"I am informed that the enemy have left Castleton and have an intent to march to Bennington. We are detained here a good deal for bullet moulds, as there is but one pair in town, and the few balls sent on by the State go but a little way in supplying the whole."

One pair of bullet moulds! a light visible result significant of how many things not so visible.

Such incidents, like the rude strokes in charcoal-sketches, produce more effect than many elaborate line engravings.

The impressiveness of our history is weakened because a thousand petty circumstances are scattered here and there through a Gazetteer or through voluminous documents—sometimes in widely sundered archives, like the elementary constituents of Mosaic work instead of

being fitly framed together into a life-like picture, as those of the French Revolution have been by Carlyle.

The heroic deeds of our forefathers seem not to have been appreciated; sometimes they are mentioned as things of course, or unmentioned by our writers, though they are not a whit behind the chiefest deeds man can boast.

Luther when the Pope burned his books, burned the Pope's bull. In what did he surpass Allen's retorting the setting a price on his head by New York, with setting a price on the head of a New York dignitary?

At Bennington, a Green Mountain Boy struck a Hessian officer's sword from his hand with a stick, and forced him to make his file of men lay down their arms. How few know that hero's name!

We shall always remember two men that swam the Hellespont,—the one from vanity, the other for personal gratification of another sort. We are in danger of forgetting a citizen of our own who swam as broad a strait at Ticonderoga, at midnight, threading his way through a hostile fleet, not for himself but for his country,—Richard Wallace—worthy to bear the name of him of Scotland, and to be equalled with him in renown.

I have sometimes thought our writers particularly oblivious of female heroism as displayed in our history.

A French maid of honor who lost her arm by foolishly thrusting it in place of a door-bar to protect her queen, is eulogised. A woman of Vermont suffered the same loss, defending her husband, with the first weapon that offered against midnight kidnappers, and is passed over in silence.

French women are praised for digging and trundling barrows to rear a monument of national fickleness. The similar labors of Vermont women striving to take the places of their husbands who were dying in battle are more than half forgotten.

It is recorded in Scottish history that Knox's daughter would rather see him beheaded and catch her head in her apron, than have him turn papist. It is not recorded in our history what Vermont mother used her apron to staunch the blood of her wounded son, when both of them still every moment were exposed to be scalped.

None of our histories mention the name of Hannah Handy, whose entreaties rescued not only her own children but seven of her neighbor's children from going into captivity, after they had been already taken over White River, and who dared to cross that river on the back of an Indian, that she might bring back her jewels. Yet was she a heroine before finding a parallel for whom we shall search long.

But as anecdotes of Allen were eagerly coveted in his life time by distinguished Frenchmen, as we are learning that our curled maple and walnut may compare with mahogany, and that our marbles may vie with those of Carrara, which some have crossed an ocean to visit, so let us believe that heroes and heroines may not always be without honor in their own country, and in ours. Such seem specimens of the cardinal deficiencies in our histories as to our part in our histories of the Revolution, including our conflicts and our negociations with the British, as to minute details, and as to our heroes and heroines.

These deficiences, and countless others in relation to topics on which I have no time to touch, have not only been clearly detected by our President, but his labors have accumulated materials for supplying very many of them. He has gathered together fragments from lake to river, from Massachusetts to Canada,—he has spent three months together in the collections of sister states, or of the general government; he has secured correspondents in Canada, and in the person of his son, he has broken through the Chinese wall of English exclusiveness,—he has found laws and journals of the Legislature that had been given up for lost—he has doubled Thompson's list of Vermont books before its admission to the Union,—he has saved letters by thousands that were ready to perish, and that cast each its ray on the dark past. He has recently added a third to the ponderous tomes obtained of him by the State two years ago,—he has collected autographs, not to see which with more pleasure than Napoleon's would cast ominous conjecture on your patriotism, written in such a hand as was to be expected from pioneers, but who would look on letters of gold with half the pleasure?

Are all desiderata then supplied by the collections of our President? By no means. Properly speaking he has had to do with only one department—military operations—and that during the Revolution. We ought to be thankful that he has magnified his office, yet not forgetful that he has exhausted none of the mines of investigation. A barrel full of papers left by the most interesting military characteter in our annals lies headed up and unexamined to this day.

The collections of other societies and public offices, whether state, national or foreign, remain to be examined or re-examined. The papers of every man mentioned in our history are to be sought for, and in this search the name of every such man may prove a guide useful as a clue in a labyrinth. We must seek for sermons, histories, and biographies, hoards of newspapers, or those thrown away like autumnal leaves, journals in manuscript, letters sent out of the State

to those from whom the settlers came forth. A rich mine of these is doubtless still unopened, for, among hundreds I have examined, I have discovered only two addressed to women, and none—no not one—written by a woman. But were not woman in those days ready writers even as now? Proverbially the best letter-writers in all other countries, were they found wanting here? Did not their letters paint the lights and shades of life in this new State, as they have since portrayed western clearings, as those of busy men, less keen-eyed for the picturesque and trivial could not, or did not?

Other sources of historical facts will also be opened to us by lucky accidents, too various to be described or to strange to be predicted. The gems of sister societies were sometimes found where least looked for. The original of the world-famed (English) Magna Charta was found in the hands of a tailor, who was just ready to cut it up for patterns. One of the most ancient and valuable maps of New Hampshire, when it extended to the lake, was discovered in a storehouse where a pedler had left it when he removed his rags, either through accident, or judging it not worth taking away.

What has been will be.

If such a list of questions as that prepared by the Massachusetts society were circulated throughout Vermont, township by township, beyond a doubt many early laws and journals of the Legislature, long ago given up as irrecoverably lost, as well as much equally valuable and more curious information concerning Town Committees and Committees of Safety, those cradles of our independance, lacking links of every sort in the chains of our annals, might be rescued from oblivion.

No doubt the drag-net of our research will gather of every kind. Criticism must therefore have its perfect work, in separating the precious from the vile. The mass of materials must also be classified according to their nature, the time to which they relate, the place where they were found, or the purposes for which they may be employed.

Many explanatory notes must be appended to the collections made by our President, or what is a plain path to him will appear to those who shall come after, "a mighty maze and all without a plan."

The fruits of our historical harvests and gleanings ought also to be garnered up in a chief place of concourse, instead of the corner where they are now secluded,—even as the treasures of other states are honored with archives in Boston, Hartford, Concord, New York and Washington.

How beautiful thus to have a section of the past brought safe into the present and set down before our eyes!

Arrangements are making for publishing the earliest annals of our fathers. I trust such a publication will soon take away our reproach of being the only State which has had a Society for a series of years and yet published nothing, as if our investigations were labor lost, or were to be hidden in the chaos of a Museum.

The "Historical readings," published in the State Banner, were well received. Let us have more of them, a hundred fold. Let our printers whose types preserve knowledge, bring forth things old as well as new.

What is of more interest than a town history—to each man that of his own town? No where in Europe did I seek without finding one. How long shall we desire such histories in vain? What true patriot loves not his own village?

Who can doubt the capacity of our primitive period to furnish an anthology of incidents suited for a reading book in common schools! Such a book would have a greater charm for children than things far off and long ago. It might develope a spirit of research which must otherwise perish in embryo. Many an unique document which now appears to them as worthless as the jewel seemed to the barn-yard fowl, it might lead them to appreciate so that they would say, destroy it not, for a blessing is it.

The only incident relating to our history, I remember in my school books, is Howe's captivity, and that was in a book long since antiquated. Is there nothing, then, in our history such that we may fitly tell in the ears of our sons, and teach it dilligently to our sons sons!

As a means of securing the ends now suggested we may rejoice that we have a State Society, albeit as some think, it has but a name to live. Should we dispise its low estate, knowing that all begginnings are small? Will it not be a rallying point, nay a magnet attracting to itself and binding in union all congenial spirits however scattered abroad? Is it not suited to be their organ of communication with those like minded elsewhere? Will it not increase their zeal, by kindling mutual emulation and by so dividing labors that each man shall have an office in keeping with his taste and opportunities. What better expedient can be devised to keep historical inquiries before the people, as well as to secure the cooperation and contributions of their thousand hands?

Is it not a nucleus, a resevoir into which rivulets without number, invaluable for its purposes though valuless as to all others, will naturally flow?

Is it not a company for mutual insurance—not against fire—but against a loss which can never, by any possibility be repared?

An association, of such a nature and of such aims, should commend itself to us all.

Statesmen! Among your motives to scorn delights and live laborious days is the hope to leave a name that men shall not willingly let die—can you be indifferent to what concerns the memory of your predecessor? Do to them as ye would that posterity should do to you.

Politicians! Will you not welcome our Society, as a little sanctuary where no war-whoop of party can be heard,—where the interests of all parties are one. If you look to dollars and cents, are researches to be sneered at, which by the papers of a single family have obtained nine pensions, and which may yet substaniate our claim to millions from the national treasury?

Scholars! Can you remember that Massachusetts has published scores of volumes to illustrate her history,—that Connecticut, New-Hamp-shire, New York, and even Georgia have followed in her footsteps, and blush not that we are behind them all?

Ye that have spoken of plants even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall—that have chronicled every creeping thing that creepeth upon the face of the earth—can you pass by on the other side any memorial of the leaves in our history, as if tithing cummin were the weightiest of matters?

Rich men! The British Museum has last year appropriated more than $20.000 to purchase books relating to America. Many of the rarest works on our local annals are led into capivity to London—materials, says one, for future Alison's to forge lies from. Will you only tighten your purse strings while men in deep poverty are struggling to secure for ourselves the documents which may be indispensible for refuting the half-truths, equivalent to whole falsehoods, which will be propounded, regarding our annals, by the party, or prejudiced writers of England?

Let us leave our history to be written by foreigners and it will be the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. The New York account of the taking of Ticonderoga is that "it was surprised by a detachment of provincials from Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay," as if there had no Vermonter raised a finger. The truth is, as we have seen, that the first measures for that capture originated in Vermont, and that all but one sixth of those engaged in it were Vermonters.

Our ancestors made themselves of no reputation for you who had

done nothing for them. No debt can be more binding on you than to see to it that justice is done their memory.

Is there no hope of any further aid from the State? Shall not this State, like so many others, perfect its archives, or shall the only State that redeemed its revolutionary paper money at par neglect to finish securing even its own laws and journals, and the records of its courts?

It is not fitting for the State's money to be laid out to help a man travel in England; but it is a shame to us that we have not sooner secured the services of a gentleman who had gained access to the correspondence during the most critical period of our history,—documents which others had in vain begged leave to examine—and who would have copied it cheaper and better than any other man. We have refused him hundreds though we might thus have procured a better reputation than we can now make of an aspersion which has been cast on the fame of our fathers. England is now lavishing thousands upon the same man for his assistance in obtaining documents in which she can feel comparatively but little interest.

Even Georgia has procured the copying of twenty folios regarding her history in British public offices.

The genius of our history says to us, all and each, that thou doest do quickly, like the sybil to the ancient king, she year by year brings with her fewer and fewer antique records, but unlike the sybil demands for them an even increasing price.

I trust our Geological scrutiny will meet with no interruption or delay, but were we to leave that scrutiny half unfinished, another generation may renew it, and suffer no evil from our neglect. Geological records are always with us, everlasting as the hills,—they are graven in the rock forever, we may read them when we will.

The records of our fathers have in part perished with them,—some of them live in the memories of patriarchs who still stand among us with eyes undimmed and natural force not abated, as if on purpose that such as hold the pen of the ready writer may still embalm their sayings. For this end let each of us build over against his own house and rely on himself as though he were the only laborer. Let us redeem the time, since if our old men pass away unquestioned, no buried Pompeii can be raised from the grave to enlighten our wilful ignorance. How we lack what we have lost irretrievably! Many of you have stood in the Massachusetts Senate Chamber and seen suspended over the entrance, a gun, drum, sword and cap, trophies, not of Lexington, Concord, or Bunker Hill, but of Bennington. What would we not give to regain the similar relic,—"those

bruised arms hung up for monuments," which we threw away as nothing worth. It is too late.

But let us be up and doing, each in his own order. Every fact hitherto undetected, we can glean and garner up by means of the art preservative of all arts, may be a monument more lasting than those trophies in Boston, or than any corruptible things, and what is more, vocal with speech that may be heard through all space and through all time.

ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont as follows:

1st. Henry Stevens, of Barnet, in the County of Caledonia, and Oramel H. Smith, Daniel P. Thompson, and George B. Mansur, of Montpelier, in the County of Washington,—and such other persons as have associated, and may hereafter associate, themselves with them, for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials for the civil and natural history of the State of Vermont,—are hereby made a body corporate and politic, by the name of *The Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society*; and, by that name, they, and their successors, may sue and be sued, and shall be capable in law to take and hold in fee simple, or otherwise, lands, and tenements, and rents and hereditaments, not exceeding, in the whole, the yearly value of $2000.00, exclusive of the building or buildings, which may be actually occupied for the purposes of the said Corporation; and they shall also be capable, in law, to take, receive and hold, personal estate to an amount, the yearly value of which shall not exceed, the sum of $2000.00, exclusive of the Books, Papers, Memorials and other articles, composing the Library and Cabinet of the said Corporation; and shall also have power to sell, demise, exchange, or otherwise dispose of, all, or part, of their lands, tenements, hereditaments, and other property, for the benefit of said Corporation; and shall also have a Common Seal, which they may alter at their pleasure; and shall also have the power to make By-Laws, with suitable penalties, not repugnant to the Laws of this State.

2d. The said Corporation shall have power, from time to time, as they may think fit, to elect a President, and such other officers as they shall judge necessary; and at their first meeting, they shall agree upon the manner of calling future meetings, and proceed to execute all, or any, of the powers vested in them by this act.

3d. The Library and Cabinet of the said Corporation shall be kept in the Town of Barnet, in the County of Caledonia.

4th. The said Henry Stevens is authorized to notify the first meeting of the said Corporation, by an advertisement thereof, under his hand, for three weeks before such meeting, in any newspaper printed in this State.

Approved Nov. 5, 1838.

FIRST MEETING OF THE

Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER, 1840.

Pursuant to an Act of the Legislature of Vermont, incorporating *The Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society*, and empowering Henry Stevens to call the first meeting of said Society, the said Stevens having given the notice by said Act required, the several persons, in said Act incorporated, met at Montpelier on the third Thursday of October, A. D. 1840, and elected—

HENRY STEVENS, of Barnet, President.
The same, " Librarian. "
D. P. THOMPSON, } Secretaries.
GEO. B. MANSUR, }

As officers of the said Society for the year ensuing; and Silas H. Jennison, E. A Stansbury, I. F. Redfield, D. M. Camp, E. P. Walton, Daniel Baldwin, G. W Benedict, Solo. Stodard, and Norman Williams, associate members; and adopted the following

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a President and two Vice Presidents. It shall be the duty of the President, and, in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, to preside in the meetings, and to regulate the debates of the Society and Council; to call meetings of the Council, and extraordinary meetings of the Society, by advice of Council. The President, or presiding officer, shall vote in Council, and also have a casting vote. The Vice Presidents shall, ex-officio, be members of the Council.

ART. 2. There shall be seven Counsellors, exclusive of the President and Vice Presidents: any four of the whole number shall constitute a quorum. It shall be the duty of the Counsellors to direct the Corresponding Secretaries in the performance of their duty; to present to the Society, for their acceptance, such regulations and by-laws as, from time to time, shall be thought expedient; to receive donations, and, with the President, to purchase, sell or lease, for the benefit of the Society, real or personal estate; to draw orders on the Treasury for necessary monies, and, in general, to manage the prudential concerns of the Society. It shall be the duty of the Council to inquire concerning the characters of persons, living out of this State, proper to be elected Honorary Members.

ART. 3. There shall be one Recording Secretary, and two Corresponding Secretaries. The Recording Secretary shall be the keeper of the Seal of the Society. It shall be his duty to attend all meetings of the Society and Council, and to make and keep records of all their proceedings; and shall keep on file all literary papers belonging to the Society, under direction of the Council.

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretaries to receive and read all communications made to the Society, and to manage, under the direction of the Council, all the correspondence of the Society.

ART. 4. There shall be a Treasurer who shall give such security as the President and Council shall require for the faithful performance of his trust. It shall be his

duty to receive and keep all monies and evidences of property belonging to the Society; to pay out to the order of the President and Council; to keep a record of his receipts and payments; exhibit the same to, and settle with, a committee which shall be annually appointed for this purpose; and he shall put the money of said Society to interest under the direction of the President and Council.

Art. 5. There shall be a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, who shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the President and Council for the faithful performance of his trust. He shall receive and have in his custody all Books, Papers, Productions of Nature, and Works of Art—the property of the Society. These he shall arrange in classes, and register in a book with a proper description of each article, with the donor's name, when the same shall be a present. No article shall *ever*, on any occasion, be loaned or taken from the *Museum;* nor shall any book or other article be borrowed from the Library, except by a vote of the Council, and then the loan of such article shall be recorded, and a receipt given therefor by the borrower, engaging to return the same in four weeks, or pay a forfeiture, such as by a vote of the Council shall be affixed.

Art. 6. The stated meetings of the Society shall be—one in Barnet, on the 17th day of January, and, when the same shall fall on Sunday, then the Tuesday following; one in Montpelier on the third Thursday in October, at such hours and places as shall be notified by the Secretary. At the annual meeting in Montpelier, in October, there shall be chosen, by ballot, all the officers of the Society to serve during the following year, and until others are chosen. At this meeting a public oration shall be delivered by some person to be appointed by the Council.

Art. 7. All nominations for members shall hereafter be submitted to a committee of three for their approbation; and, if approved by said committee, the names of the candidates, with the names of the members who proposed said candidates, shall be entered in the book of nominations, and the candidates may be ballotted for at the next meeting of the Society.

Art. 8. Each member shall annually pay into the hands of the Treasurer at the meeting, in October, $2,00 towards a fund. And every person who shall neglect to pay said annual tax, and shall suffer him or herself to be in arrear for three annual taxes, after having been called on by the Treasurer in person, or by written order, shall be considered as having abdicated his interest in the Society, and no longer a member.

Art. 9. All meetings, standing or special, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary, under direction of the President and Council, in one newspaper, published in Montpelier, fourteen days previous to the day of the meeting, in which notification the hour and place of the meeting shall be designated.

Art. 10. In case of the death, resignation, or removal out of the State, of either of the Secretaries, or the Treasurer, or Librarian, the Council shall take charge of the official books, papers and effects belonging to the vacated office, giving receipts for the same, which books they may deliver to some person whom they may appoint to fill the office until the next meeting of the Society, when there shall be a choice.

Art. 11. This Constitution shall not be altered, or amended, except at the stated meeting in October, and then only by the vote of three fourths of the members present.

BY-LAWS.

1st. The ballots for the election of officers, and the admission of members, shall be collected by a committee chosen by nomination, who shall assort and count the votes and make report to the presiding officer; and he shall declare the result to the Society.

2d. Every member, who shall advance $20 to the funds shall be excused paying the annual tax of $2.

3d. Every new member shall be notified of his election by a printed letter signed by the Recording Secretary.

4th. The Secretary shall record, in a book for this purpose, the names of the members, and the times of their admission.

5th. All books and other articles, belonging to the Society, shall be appraised, and the price of each article shall be mentioned in the catalogue.

6th. A correct catalogue of the books, and other articles, shall be made out by the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, or by a Committee chosen by the Society for this purpose, which copy shall be kept by the President for the time being; and, as additions are made to the Library and Museum, they shall be entered on the Catalogue and copy thereof.

7th. Every deed, to which the Common Seal of the Society is affixed, shall be passed and sealed in Council, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary.

8th. There shall be a temporary place of deposit in Montpelier, and in such other places as the Council shall hereafter direct, for the convenience of those who may be disposed to present to the Society any article for its Library and Museum. Every article so deposited, shall, as soon after as circumstances will permit, be forwarded to the Library and Museum in Barnet.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

On the third Thursday of October, A. D. 1846, the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society, agreeably to previous notice, held their seventh annual meeting at the Court House, in Montpelier; when the meeting was called to order by the President, and the following Officers of the Society were duly elected for the year ensuing, viz.:

HENRY STEVENS, President.

I. F. REDFIELD, S. B. COLBY, } Vice do.

D. P. THOMPSON, Recording Secretary.

HENRY STEVENS, Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.

D. BALDWIN, Treasurer.

E. P. WALTON, S. H. JENNISON, I. F. REDFIELD, D. M. CAMP, D. BALDWIN, } Counsellors.

After which the Society adjourned to meet at the Brick Church, Oct. 16, to hear an Address from Rev. J. D. Butler.

D. P. THOMPSON, Secretary.

October 16, 1846.

Society met, and, the Legislature adjourning for the purpose, the members thereof assembled at the Brick Church, at 3 o'clock, P. M., when, the President and Secretary in the chair, Rev. J. D. Butler delivered an interesting address, illustrating the importance of preserving the fragmentary and unpublished history of Vermont; at the close of which Rev. J. Gridley offered a resolution of thanks to Mr. Butler for his address—requesting a copy for the press—which was adopted; and the meeting adjourned.

The following declaration and accompanying papers were found by Mr. Stevens, at Washington among a mass of rubbish and were first published in the Burlington Free Press, the editor of which paper very justly remarks that the State is under great obligation to Mr. Stevens for his services in hunting up and arranging official papers and other testimony touching the origin, progress, and final consummation of the struggle, which resulted in giving to the American Switzerland the proud individuality of which we so justly boasts. We hope to see the State do justice to itself, and to Mr. Stevens, by purchasing these papers, and putting them in a shape to make them available to the community at large. When this is done, the world will be satisfied that the early settlers of Vermont were men of no common mould. For a mere handful of men to resist the combined efforts of New York on the one side, and New Hampshire on the other—to be repulsed, if not rejected, by the home government, and menaced by a foreign foe, involved the exercise of no common sagacity, and an amount of nerve and energy, with which we are not familiar. But so it was. While maintaining an open war with the neighboring states, they protected the whole line of our frontier, by keeping on terms with the common enemy, *while at the same time they rendered more efficient aid to the government which discarded them than either of the States alluded to.* The official correspondence with Washington—some of which is among these interesting papers—goes to demonstrate this, beyond a doubt.

It is due the honor of the State that something be done to sustain Mr. Stevens in his untiring efforts to bring to light the records of a State whose early history is more remarkable than that of any other State of the Union.

C. G. E.

Vermont Declaration of Independence.

"In Convention of the Representatives from the several counties and towns of the New Hampshire grants, holden at Westminster, January 15, 1777, by adjournment.

Whereas, the Honorable the Continental Congress did, on the 4th

day of July last, declare the United Colonies in America to be free and independent of the crown of Great Britain; which declaration we most cordially acquiess in. And whereas by the said declaration, the arbitrary acts of the crown are null and void, in America. Consequently, the jurisdiction by said crown granted to New York government over the people of the New Hampshire grants is totally dissolved.

We therefore, the inhabitants, on said tract of land, are at present without law or government, and may be truly said to be in a state of nature; consequently a right remains to the people on said Grants, to form a Government best suited to secure their property well being and happiness. We the delegates from the several counties and towns on said tract of land, bounded as follows: South on the north line of Massachusetts Bay; East, on Connecticut River; North on Canada line; West as far as the New Hampshire Grants extends: After several adjournments for the purpose of forming ourselves into a distinct separate State, being assembled at Westminster, do make and publish the following DECLARATION, viz:

"That we will at all times hereafter, consider ourselves as a free and independent State, capable of regulating our internal police, in all and every respect whatsoever. And that the people of said Grants have the sole and exclusive, and inherent right of ruling and governing themselves, in such manner and form as in their own wisdom shall think proper, not inconsistent or repugnant to any resolve of the Honorable Continental Congress.

Furthermore, we declare by all the ties which are held sacred among men, that we will firmly stand by and support one another in this our declaration of a State, and endeavoring as much as in us lies to suppress unlawful routs and disturbances whatever. Also we will endeavor to secure to every individual his life, peace and property, against all unlawful invaders of the same.

Lastly, we hereby declare, that we are at all times ready, in conjunction with our brethren in the United States of America, to do our full proportion in maintaining and supporting the just war, against the tyrannical invasions of the ministerial fleets and armies, as well as any other foreign enemies, sent with express purpose to murder our fellow brethren, and with fire and sword to ravage our defenceless country.

The said State hereafter to be called by the name of New Connecticut."

Extract from the minutes.

IRA ALLEN, *Clerk*.

In Convention of the Representatives from the several counties and towns in the New Hampshire Grants holden at Westminster, 15th January 1777, by adjournment, Voted unanimously,

That it is the ardent wish of this Convention that each town in the District would send a Delegate or Delegates, to the next sitting of this Convention, those towns that have not chose any Delegates to choose and send. This Convention is adjourned to the first day of June next, to be held at the Meeting House in Windsor, at nine o'clock in the morning.

Extract from the minutes.

IRA ALLEN, *Clerk*

***Non-residents that have a desire to attend the above Conven-

tion, are hereby notified of the same, said Convention was formed to govern the Internal Police of said District, and if thought proper, to form said District into a State.

STATE OF VERMONT, }
In General Convention, Windsor, June 4, 1777. }

Whereas, this Convention, did at their session in Westminster, the 15th day of January last, among other things, declare the district of land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, to "be a free and independent State, capable of regulating their own internal police in all and every respect whatsoever, and that it should be known thereafter by the name of New Connecticut."

And whereas, by mere accident, or through mistake, the said declaration alone, was published in the Connecticut Courant, No. 634, dated March the 17th, 1777, without assigning the reasons which impelled the inhabitants to such separation.

And whereas, this Convention have been informed that a district of land lying on the Susquehanah River, has been heretofore and is now known by the name of New Connecticut, which was unknown to them until some time since the declaration at Westminster aforesaid: and as it would be inconvenient in many respects for two separate districts on this continent to bear the same name;

Resolved, therefore, unanimously, that the said district described in the preamble to the declaration at Westminster, aforesaid, shall ever hereafter be called and known by the name of VERMONT.

And whereas, the whole body of members which compose this Convention, consisting of the following persons, viz: Captain Josiah Bowker, President; Nathan Clarke, Esq., Mr. Simeon Hatheway, Mr. John Burnam, jun., Jonas Fay, Secretary; Major Jeremiah Clark, Mr. Abel Olia, Captain Ebenezer Willoughly, Mr. Abel Benedict, Mr. Joseph Bradley, Mr. Ely Bronson, Mr. Martin Powell, Mr. Thomas Bull, Mr. Cephas Kent, Mr. Moses Robinson 2d., Dr. Gains Smith, Captain William Fitch, Captain Jonathan Willard, Mr. Caleb Smith, Capt. Zebediah Dewey, Mr. Jesse Churchill, Captain William Gage, Captain Ebenezer Allen, Benjamin Spencer, Esq. Mr. Whitefield Foster, Mr. Joseph Smith, Mr. Stephen Pince, Mr. John Southerland, Captain Jonathan Fassett, Captain Josiah Powers, Captain Jeremiah Powers, Mr. Gamaliel Painter, Captain Heman Allen, Captian Ira Allen, Colonel Thomas Chittenden, Mr. William Miller, Dr. William Hall, Col. Benjamin Carpenter, Captain John Barnet, Mr. Isreal Smith, Mr. John Dyer, Mr. Dennis Locklin, Nathaniel Robinson, Esq., Mr. Joshua Webb, Dr. Reuben Jones, Mr. Jabez Searjeants, Captain John Coffin, Captain William Udly, Mr. Ebenezer Hoisington, Captain William Curtiss, Major Joel Mathews, Captain William Gallop, Mr. Benjamin Emmons, Mr. Stephen Tiiden, Col. Joseph Marsh, Mr. John Troop, John W. Dana, Esq., Mr. Asa Whitcomb, Mr. Asa Chandler, Col. Peter Alcott, Major Thomas Murdock, Mr. Jacob Burton, Joel Marsh, Esq. Mr. Daniel Gilbert, Mr. Abner Chamberlain, Mr. Frederick Smith, Mr. Amos Woodworth, Mr. Amabiah Woodworth, Dr. Bildad Andress, Mr. Benjamin Baldwin, Mr. John G. D. Bailey, Captain Robert Johnston.—amounting to seventy-two in number, being all convened at the town house in Windsor, aforesaid, and the motion being made and seconded, whether the house would pro-

ceed to business on the former declaration made at Westminster, in January, aforesaid, with this alteration only, that instead of New Connecticut, the said district should ever be known by the name of VERMONT? That then the name of the reptesentatives being distinctly and severally called by the Secretary, seventy-one of them did answer in the words following, viz, "proceed to form;" at which time and place the said seventy-one members did renew their pledges to each other by all the ties held sacred among men, and resolve and declare that they were at all times ready in conjunction with their brethren in the United States, to contribute their full proportion towards maintaining the present just war against the fleets and armies of Great Britain.

That the public may be capable of forming a just idea of the reasons which so necessarily obliged the inhabitants of the district before described, to declare themselves to be separate and distinct from the State of New York, the following complaints are hereto subjoined.

COMPLAINTS.

In the year 1764, the Legislative authority of New York did obtain jurisdiction over the before described territory of land, by virtue of a false representation made by the late Lieut. Governor Colden, that for the convenience of trade and administration of justice the inhabitants were desirious of being annexed to that Government.

They have refused to make re-grants of the same lands to the original proprietors and occupants, unless at the exorbitant rate of $2300 fees for each township, and did enhance the quit rent three fold, and demanded an immediate delivery of the title derived before from New Hampshire.

The Judges of their Supreme Court have made a solemn declaration, that the charters, conveyances, &c., of the lands included in the before described premises, were utterly null and void, on which said title was founded.

In consequence of which declaration, writs of possession have by them issued, and the Sheriff of the County of Albany sent at the head of six or seven hundred armed men to enforce the execution thereof.

They have passed an act annexing a penalty thereto, of thirty pounds, five and six months imprisonment, on any person who should refuse attending the sheriff after being requested for the purpose of executing writs of possession.

The Governors, Dunmore, Tryon and Colden, have made regrants to several tracts of land included in the premises, to certain favorite land-jobbers in the Government of New York, in direct relation of his Britanic Majesty's special orders in the year 1767.

They have endeavored and many times threatened to excite the King's troops to destroy us.

They have issued proclamations wherein they have offered large sums of money for the purpose of apprehending those persons who have dared boldly and publicly to appear in defence of their just rights.

They did pass twelve acts of outlawry on the 9th of March, A. D. 1774, empowering the respective Judges of their Supreme Court, to award execution of death against those inhabitants in said district, that they should judge to be offenders, without trial.

They have and still continue an unjust claim to those lands, which greatly retards emigration into, and the setlement of this State.

They have hired foreign troops, emigrants from Scotland, at different times, and armed them to drive us out of possession.

They have sent the savages on our frontiers to destroy us.

They have proceeded to erect the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, and established courts of justice there, after they were discountenanced by the authority of Great Britain.

The free Convention of the State of New York, at Harlem, in the year 1776, unanimously voted, "that all quit-rents formerly due to the King of Great Britain, are now due and owing to this Convention, or such future government as shall be established in this State."

To give truth its due limits, they, the late government of New York, have spared neither cost or pains, nor been wanting in using every artful insinuation within the compass of their power; (however unwarrantable by the laws of God or man,) to defraud those inhabitants out of the whole of their landed property; and nothing but consciences void of offence towards God and man, to whose impartial judgment we appeal, could have induced those inhabitants to have run the risk, and to have undergone the hardships and fatigues they have borne, for the salvation of their lives, liberties and properties.

In the several stages of the aforesaid oppression, we have petitioned his Britannic Majesty in the most humble manner for redress, and have at a very great expense, received several reports in our favor; and in other instances wherein we have petitioned the late Legislative authority of New York, these petitions have been treated with neglect. We shall therefore only remind the public that our local situation alone, is a sufficient reason of our declaration of an independency, and must therefore denounce a separation from the State of New York, and refer the public to our declaration of being a distinct State, published in the Connecticut Courant the 15th day of January last, and sincerely wish, that in future a lasting and permanent peace may continue between the State of New York and this with the other United States of America.

By order of Convention,

JONAS FAY, *Secretary.*

"The Song of the Vermonters," 1779.*

Ho—all to the borders! Vermonters, come down,
With your breeches of deer-skin, and jackets of brown;
With your red woolen caps, and your moccasins, come
To the gathering summons of trumpet and drum.

Come down with your rifles!—let gray wolf and fox
Howl on in the shade of their primitive rocks;
Let the bear feed securely from pig-pen and stall;
Here 's a two-legged game for your powder and ball.

On our South come the Dutchmen, enveloped in grease;
And, arming for battle, while canting of peace;
On our East, crafty Meshech† has gathered his band,
To hang up our leaders, and eat out our land.

Ho—all to the rescue! For Satan shall work
No gain for his legions of Hampshire and York!
They claim our possessions,—the pitiful knaves—
The tribute *we* pay, shall be prisons and graves!

Let Clinton and Ten Broek,‡ with bribes in their hands,
Still seek to divide us, and parcel our lands;—

*The political history of Vermont is full of interest. In 1762, New York, by reason of an extraordinary grant of Charles II. to the Duke of York, claimed a jurisdiction over about sixty townships of which grants had been given by the Governor of New Hampshire, declaring those grants illegal. An attempt was made to dispossess the settlers, but it was promptly resisted. In 1774, New York passed a most despotic law against the resisting Vermonters, and the Governor offered a large reward for the apprehension of the celebrated *Ethan Allen*, and seven of his associates. The proscribed persons in turn threatened to "*kill and destroy* any person or persons whomsoever that should be accessary, aiding or assisting in taking any of them." *See Allen's Vindication, p.* 45. Blood was shed at Westminster Court House, in 1775. *Vide R. Jones' Narrative.* In 1777, Vermont declared its independence. New York still urged her claims and attempted to enforce them with her militia. In 1779, New Hampshire also laid claim to the whole State of Vermont. Massachusetts speedily followed by putting in *her* claims to about two-thirds of it. Congress, powerless under the old Confederation, endeavored to keep on good terms with all the parties, but ardently favored New York. Vermont remonstrated warmly. Congress threatened. Vermont published "an appeal to the candid and impartial world"—denounced Congress, and asserted its own absolute independence. Notwithstanding the threats offered on all sides, the contest terminated without much bloodshed, and Vermont was admitted into the Union in 1791, after existing as an independent sovereignty for nearly fifteen years.—*Williams' History of Vermont, &c.*

† Hon. Meshech Weare, Governor of New Hampshire.

‡ Gov. Clinton, of New York, and Hon. A. Ten Broek, President of the New York Convention.

We 've coats for our traitors, whoever they are ;
The warp is of *feathers*—the filling of *tar* ! §

Does the "old bay State" threaten ? Does Congress complain ?
Swarms Hampshire in arms on our borders again ?
Bark the war-dogs of Britain aloud on the lake ?
Let 'em come ;—what they *can*, they are welcome to take.

What seek they among us ? The pride of our wealth
Is comfort, contentment, and labor and health,
And lands which, as Freemen, we only have trod,
Independent of all, save the mercies of God.

Yet we owe no allegiance ; we bow to no throne ;
Our ruler is law, and the law is our own ;
Our leaders themselves are our own fellow-men,
Who can handle the sword, or the scythe, or the pen.

Our wives are all true, and our daughters are fair,
With their blue eyes of smiles, and their light flowing hair ;
All brisk at their wheels till the dark even-fall,
Then blithe at the sleigh-ride, the husking, and ball !

We 've sheep on the hill sides ; we 've cows on the plain ;
And gay-tasseled corn-fields, and rank-growing grain ;
There are deer on the mountains ; and wood-pigeons fly
From the crack of our muskets, like clouds on the sky.

And there 's fish in our streamlets and rivers, which take
Their course from the hills to our broad-bosomed lake ;
Through rock-arched Winouski the salmon leaps free,
And the portly shad follows all fresh from the sea.

Like a sun-beam the pickerel glides through his pool ;
And the spotted trout sleeps where the water is cool,
Or darts from his shelter of rock and of root
At the beaver's quick plunge, or the angler's pursuit.

And ours are the mountains, which awfully rise
Till they rest their green heads on the blue of the skies ;
And ours are the forests unwasted, unshorn,
Save where the wild path of the tempest is torn.

§ The New York sheriffs and those who submitted to the authority of New York were often roughly handled by the Green Mountain Boys. The following is from the journal of the proceedings of the Vermont Council of public safety :—*Council of Safety, 3d Sept.* 1777. "——— ——— is permitted to return home, and remain on his father's farm (and if found off to expect thirty-nine lashes of the *beach seal*) until further orders from this Council." The instrument of punishment was termed the "beach *seal*," in allusion to the great seal of New Hampshire affixed to the grants, of which the beach rod well laid upon the naked backs of the "Yorkers" and their adherents was considered a confirmation.

And though savage and wild be this climate of ours,
And brief be our season of fruits and of flowers,
Far dearer the blast round our mountains which raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyr, which breathes over slaves

Hurra for VERMONT ! for the land which we till
Must have sons to defend her from valley and hill ;
Leave the harvest to rot on the field where it grows,
And the reaping of wheat for the reaping of foes.

Far from Michiscoui's wild valley, to where
Poosoomsuck steals down from his wood-circled lair,
From Shocticook river to Lutterlock town,—
Ho—all to the rescue ! Vermonters, come down !

Come York or come Hampshire,—come traitors and knaves ;
If ye rule o'er our *land*, ye shall rule o'er our *graves* ;
Our vow is recorded—our banner unfurled ;
In the name of Vermont we defy *all the world* ! ‖

‖ "Rather than fail, I will retire with my hardy Green Mountain Boys to the desolate caverns of the mountains, *and wage war with human nature at large.*"—*Ethan Allen's Letter to Congress, March* 9, 1784.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY DANIEL P. THOMPSON.

AN

ADDRESS

PRONOUNCED IN THE

REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, MONTPELIER,

24th OCTOBER, 1850,

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN THE PRESENCE OF

BOTH HOUSES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY;

BY

DANIEL P. THOMPSON.

Published by Order of the Legislature

BURLINGTON

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1850.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE,
Montpelier, Vt., Oct. 29, 1850.

Hon. DANIEL P. THOMPSON, Montpelier.

SIR: We have the pleasure to communicate to you the following resolution, adopted on the 25th inst:—

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives:

"That the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of "Representatives be instructed to solicit from the Hon. Daniel P. Thomp-"son a copy of the interesting and valuable Address pronounced by him "before the Vermont Historical Society, in presence of the two Houses, "on the evening of the 24th inst., and that the Secretary and Clerk procure "two thousand copies thereof to be printed, and distributed under the di-"rection of His Excellency, the Governor."

We take occasion to express the hope that you will comply with the unanimous desire of the two Houses, in which the entire audience, on the occasion alluded to, participated.

Very respectfully, Your ob't serv'ts,

D. W. C. CLARKE, Secretary of the Senate,

C. F. DAVEY, of the House of Representatives.

MONTPELIER, Vt., 30th October, 1850.

GENTLEMEN:

It was not my intention to publish the Address, of which the two Houses have taken such flattering notice, as I thought of embodying it, with further amplifications of the subject, in a work I have in preparation for the press. But perceiving no valid objections to its publication in this form, though it may soon substantially appear in another, and being anxious to make every consistent response to a demonstration, of which I fear neither myself, nor my imperfect effort, is worthy, I can do no less than comply with your request, and that which seems involved in the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me. I, therefore, place the manuscript at your disposal, and, with the assurance of my personal regard, remain

Your friend and ob't serv't,

D. P. THOMPSON.

To Gen. D. W. C. CLARKE, Secretary of the Senate,

CHALON F. DAVEY, Esq., Clerk of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Vermont was ushered into political existence midst storm and tempest. We speak both metaphorically and literally: For it is a curious historical fact that her Constitution, the result of the first regular movement ever made by her people towards an independent civil government, was adopted during the darkest period of the Revolution—at an hour of commotion and alarm, when the tempest of war was actually bursting over her borders and threatening her entire subversion. And, as if to make the event the more remarkable, the adoption took place amidst one of the most memorable thunder storms ever known in Vermont, but for the providential occurrence of which, at that particular juncture, that important political measure, as we shall soon make apparent, must have been postponed to an indefinite period, and what is more, to a period when the growing dissensions, which, as soon as the common danger was over, New York and New Hampshire contrived to scatter among her people, must have defeated it, and thus destroyed all their prospects of the blessings of an independent civil government forever.

The whole history of the settlement and organization of this State, indeed, exhibits, when compared with those of another, the most striking anomaly. She may emphatically be called the offspring of war and controversy. The long and fierce dispute for territory between the colonies just named, had sown her soil with Dragon teeth, which at length sprang up in a crop of hardy, determined, and liberty-loving men, who instead of joining either of the contending parties, soon resolved to take a stand for them

selves against both. And that stand they maintained with a spirit and success, to which, considering the discouragements, difficulties and dangers they were constantly compelled to encounter, history scarcely furnishes a parallel. But though every step of her progress, from the felling of the first tree in her dark wilderness to her final reception into the sisterhood of the States, was marked by the severest trials, yet the memorable year of '77, was incomparably the most trying and gloomy as well as the most glorious of her history. Within a period of forty days, indeed, from the first landing of the vauntful Burgoyne on her shores at Ticonderoga, on the 6th of July, to the 16th of August, when his Lion Flag was seen trailing in the dust at Bennington, her whole destinies seemed crowded; but it was in those very days of darkness and dismay, that she settled them all, and ensured her independence forever!

Conceiving this eventful period, therefore, to be the turning point in the destinies of Vermont, as a separate State, we shall confine our remarks to this important part of her history, and endeavor to unfold the secret and hitherto little known, but, in our estimation, the main springs of action, by which such momentous results were accomplished.

In the beginning of this memorable year the people of Vermont by their delegates in formal Convention assembled had declared themselves Independent,

"Independent of all save the mercies of God,"

to use the significant language which the poet has put into the mouth of one of their numbers. And having taken measures for publishing their declaration to the world, this Convention closed its proceedings by appointing a committee to draft a Constitution to be submitted to a new Convention which the people were invited to call for the purpose. In response to that call, a new Convention assembled at Windsor about the first of July following, and proceeded, with that dilligence and scrupulous regard to the employment of their time, for which our *earlier* public bodies were

noted, to take into consideration the important instrument now submitted to them as a proper basis, on which to erect the superstructure of a civil government suited to the genius and necessities of an industrious an frugal people—a people who, though keenly jealous of their individual rights, and exceedingly restive under all foreign authority, had yet declared the wish to receive and obey a system of legal restraints, if it could be one of their own imposing—a people who had said to their leaders :

> "'Tho' we owe no allegiance and bow to no throne,
> We will yield to the law if that law be our own."

For five days, from rising to setting sun, this Convention employed the best energies of their enlightened and practical minds in discussing and amending the document before them. But their labors had well nigh been lost, for the present certainly, and, for reasons before given, probably forever. For soon after they had assembled on the 6th day of their Session, and while they were intently listening to the reading of the instrument for the last time before taking a final vote on its adoption, their proceedings were suddenly brought to a stand by the alarming news, loudly proclaimed from an open despatch from the gallant Warner by a herald who appeared on his foam covered horse before their open door, that Ticonderoga, the supposed impregnable barrier of frontier defence, had fallen, and our scattered troops were flying in all directions before a formidable British army that was sweeping unopposed along the western border of the State, flanked by a horde of merciless savages, from whose fearful irruptions not a dwelling on that side the mountains would probably be spared! This intelligence, so unexpected and so startling, too nearly concerned the members of this body as men as well as patriots, to permit their entire exemption from the general feeling of consternation and dismay which was everywhere spreading, on the wings of the wind, around them; and many a staid heart among them secretly trembled for the fate of the near and dear ones left at home, in which the red tomahawk might, even at that

moment be busy at its work of death; while the bosoms of all were burning to seize the sword or musket and fly to their relief or mingle in the common defence of their endangered country. Any further proceedings with the subject on hand, at such a moment was soon found to be impossible, and the greater number began to clamor for an immediate adjournment. But while a few, who had shared less than others in the panic, or were more deeply impressed with the importance of accomplishing an object, at this time, now so nearly attained, were vainly attempting to resist the current, till time was gained for reflection, an unwonted darkness, as if by special interposition of Providence, fell suddenly upon the earth. The lightnings began to gleam through the dark and threatening masses of clouds that had enveloped the sky, and the long, deep roll of thunder was heard in every quarter of the heavens, giving warning of the severe and protracted tempest, which now soon burst over them with a fury that precluded all thought of venturing abroad. The prospect of being thus confined to the place for some hours, if not for the whole day, taking from the movers all inducement for immediate adjournment, they now began to take a cooler view of the subject; and soon, by common consent, the business on hand was resumed. The reading of the Constitution was finished, and, while the storm was still howling around them, and the thunders breaking over their heads, that instrument was adopted and became the supreme law of the land.* One thing more, however, remained to be done; and that was to constitute a provisional government to act till the one pointed out by the Constitution could be established. This was now effected by the appointment of that small body of men, 13 in number, it is believed, since known as THE OLD COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF VERMONT, and noted alike for the remarkable powers with which they were invested, and the remarkable manner in which those powers were exercised. For from the

*This Constitution was never submitted to the people for ratification, but by general consent acquiesced in without that actual formality

nature of the case, and the emergency in which these men were called to act, they were almost necessarily invested with the extraordinary combination of legislation, Judicial and Executive power. But this power, absolute and dictatorial as it was, they never abused, nor exercised but for the public good, and in this they were cheerfully sustained by the people, who felt that they were thus not only sustaining the cause of Freedom, but the laws which were of their own providing, and which they were now anxious should be strictly obeyed.*

To that unique assembly, whose origin we have just described, we now propose to introduce our auditors at its most interesting and important session. In obedience to the order of the Convention, they had promptly assembled at Manchester, and here, conscious that the eyes of all were turned anxiously upon them in expectation that they would provide for the safety of their infant State, whose now fearfully menaced destinies had been committed into their hands, they commenced the worse than Egyptian task devolving on them—that of making adequate provisions for the public defence, while the means were almost wholly wanting. For with scarcely the visible means in the whole settlement, in its then exhausted and unsettled condition, of raising and supporting a single company of soldiers, they were expected to raise an army; without the shadow of a public Treasury, and without any credit as a State, and without the power of taxing the people, which, by the Constitution just adopted, could only be done by a legislature not yet called, they were required to do that for which half a million was needed. Such were the difficulties by which they were met at the outset—difficulties, which, to men of ordinary stamina and mental resources, would have been insurmountable. But the members of the Old

*The council of safety continued to exercise all these powers till March 1778, when it was superceded by the legislature, then first convening, in all its civil functions, while those relating to war were transferred to a new body appointed by the legislature, called the Board of War

Council of Safety were not men of ordinary stamina, either moral or mental, and the results of their action amid all these difficulties and discouragements were soon to evince it to the world. The particular time however, we have chosen for lifting the curtain from their secret proceedings, was at the darkest, and most disheartening hour they were doomed to experience, and before their united mind had been brought to bear on any measure affording the least promise of auspicious results. The army of Burgoyne was then hovering on their borders in its most menacing attitude. Marauding parties were daily penetrating the interior, plundering and capturing the defenceless inhabitants; while each day brought the unwelcome news of the defection of individuals who had gone off to swell the ranks of the victorious enemy, to whose alarming progress scarcely a show of resistance had yet been interposed. Nor was this the end of the chapter of the trials that awaited them. Another blow was to be added, more calculated than all to test their firmness and bring home to their bosoms a sense of the perils of the crisis, and the necessity of prompt action, unless they should conclude to give up and yield unresistingly to the current of destiny that seemed to be setting so strongly against them. But let us now present the mortifying event to which we have just alluded in another form, together with the action that followed, and personal descriptions of the actors, gathered from the writings left by one of their number,* from the lips of old men now passed away, and especially of one whom this year has numbered with the dead and who, then an observant boy,† was permitted to be an eye and ear witness of all that occurred in the debate which we will try to bring up as a living and truthful picture directly to the senses:—

The long summer day was drawing to a close. It had been thus far spent by the Council, as had been several of the preceding, in discussing the ways and means for doing something

*Ira Allen—see appendix.
†Daniel Chipman.

to avert the doom that hung over their seemingly devoted State. But up to this hour their deliberations had been wholly fruitless. Project after project for raising military forces had been brought forward, discussed and abandoned, as impracticable, till wearied with the unavailing labors, and disheartened by the dismal prospect before them, they were about to give up business for the day when the door-keeper, with unwonted haste and an agitated manner, entered the room, and announced to the astonished members the alarming tidings that one of their own number, and till that day an active participater in their discussions, had proved a Judas, and was now, with a band of his recreant neighbors, on his way to the British camp! This news fell like a thunder-clap on the Council, producing at first a sensation not often witnessed in so grave an assemblage. But no formal comments were offered, and, after the commotion had subsided, all sank into a thoughtful silence, which we will improve by personal introductions of all the leading members of this body, whom we are now to suppose sitting before us digesting the tidings just announced.

Separated from the rest by a sort of enclosure composed of tables strung across one end of the apartment, which was the large upper room of the old tavern in Manchester, and which had been hastily fitted up for the occasion, sat the President of the Council—the venerable THOMAS CHITTENDEN, the wise, the prudent and the good, who was to Vermont what Washington was to the whole country, and who, though possessing no dazzling greatness, had yet that rare combination of moral and intellectual qualities which was far better—good sense, great discretion, honesty of purpose, and an unvarying equanimity of temper, united with a modest and pleasing address. And by the long and continued exercise of this golden mean of qualities, he was destined to leave behind him, an honest and enduring fame—a memorial of good deeds and useful every-day examples to be remembered and quoted both in the domestic circle and public assembly, when the superior brilliancy of more contemporary had passed

away and been forgotten. He was now over fifty, but so fine his physical endowments, and so good his habits, that time had left scarcely a trace on his manly brow; and notwithstanding the simplicity of his deportment and the plainness of his dress, the large arm chair in which he was reclining, furnished by some considerate matron of the neighborhood, could not have found, in the broad land, an occupant who would have filled it with more native dignity, or one better fitted to restrain by courteous firmness, and by tact guide into safe and appropriate fields of action, the less diciplined and more fiery spirits of the body over whom he presided.

On the left of the President, on one of the plain benches that ran along the walls in front, immersed in thought, sat side by side, like brothers as they were, the two FAYS—those intelligent and persevering friends of freedom and State independence. Further along sat the two ROBINSONS, alike patriotic and active or able, according to the different spheres in which they were about to be distinguished—one in the tented field, and the other on the Bench, and in the Councils of the Nation. Next to them was seen the short, burly form of the uncompromising MATTHEW LYON, the Irish refugee, who was willing to be sold, as he was, to pay his passage, for a pair of two-year-old bulls, by which he was wont to swear on all extra occasions—thus sold for the sake of getting out of the king-tainted atmosphere of the old world, into one where his broad chest could expand freely, and his bold, free spirit soar untrammeled by the clogs of legitimacy. In his eagle eye, and every lineament of his clear, ardent and fearless countenance, might be read the promise of what he was to become—the stern Democrat, and unflinching champion of the whole right and the largest liberty.

In contrast to him, on the opposite side, was seen the tall form, and the firm and thoughtful countenance of BENJAMIN CARPENTER, who, by his line of marked trees through a 30-mile reach of woods, had just arrived on foot with pack and cane, from his residence in Guilford, on the other side of the mountains.

Next sat the mild and gentlemanly NATHAN CLARK, the future Speaker of the Legislature; and by his side the dark, rough featured GIDEON OLIN, another embryo member of Congress, knitting his brows in an expression of mingled sternness and gloom.

Beyond these, leaning out of an open window, was THOMAS ROWLEY, the first Poet of the Green Mountains. He was here because he was a public favorite, a trusty patriot, and something of a statesman. But like other poets he had his peculiar temperament, as might be seen even in this staid assembly. For, as if disgusted with a profitless debate, and determined not to be troubled by the disconcerting news just announced, he had turned to the more congenial employment of gazing out on the landscape, over which his kindling eye might have been seen to wander, till it rested in rapture on the broad empurpled side and bright summit of the lofty Equinox mountain, whose contrasted magnificence was growing every moment more striking and beautiful in the beams of the setting sun.

At an end of one of the tables before the President, was also seen the stout frame and business like countenance of PAUL SPOONER, engaged in writing a despatch. And as the last, though not as the least of this contrasted assemblage, let us turn to the youthful Secretary of the Council, IRA ALLEN. So much the junior of his colleagues was he, that a spectator might well wonder why he was selected as one of such a sage body. But those who procured his appointment knew full well why they had done so; and his history thenceforward was destined to prove a continued justification of their opinion. Both in form and feature, he was one of the handsomest men of his day; while a mind, at once versatile, clear and penetrating, with perceptions as quick as light, was stamped on his Grecian brow, or found a livelier expression in his flashing black eyes and other lineaments of his intellectual countenance. Such, as he appeared for the first time on the stage of public action, was the afterwards noted Ira Allen, whose true history, when written, will show him to have been

either secretly or openly the originator or successful prosecutor of more important political measures, affecting the interests and independence of the State, and the issue of the war in the Northern department, than any other individual in Vermont; making him, with the many peculiar traits he possessed, one of the most remarkable men of the times in which he so conspicuously figured.

"I have finished," said Spooner, breaking the gloomy silence which had so long pervaded the assembly,—"I have finished the despatch, Mr. President, requiring the attendance of Gen. Bailey, the absent member from Newbury, and I have ventured to add the news of the defection of that miserable Squire Spencer!"*

"'Tis all well," responded the President; "but I had hoped to have forwarded by the same messenger, a despatch requesting the aid of New Hampshire. But how can we expect they will do anything till we do something for ourselves—till they know whether they will find among us more friends to feed and assist, than enemies to impede them. And I submit to you, gentlemen, whether it is not now high time to act to some purpose. If we can't vote taxes, we can contribute towards raising a military force if you will agree to raise one. Instead of being disheartened by the conduct of the traitor Spencer, who has perhaps providentially left us before we had settled on any plan of operations which he could report to the enemy, let us show him, and the world, that the rest of us can be *men!* I have ten head of cattle which, by way of example, I will give for the emergency. But am I more patriotic than the rest of you here, and hundreds of others in the settlement? My wife has a valuable gold necklace; hint to her to-day that it is needed, and my word for it, to-morrow will find it in the treasury of freedom. But is my wife more spirited than yours and others? Gentlemen, I wait your propositions."

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*See Appendix.

During this effective appeal, drooping heads began to be raised—perplexed countenances began to brighten, and by the time he had closed, several speakers were on their feet eager to respond.

"Mr. Carpenter has the floor, gentlemen," said the President, evidently wishing that discreet and firm man should lead off as a sort of guide to the warm emotions he saw rising.

"I rose," said Carpenter, "to give my hearty response to the sentiments of the Chair. It *is* time, *high* time to act. I have no definite proposition now to offer; but within one hour, I *will* have one, if others are not before me in the matter. For it is a *crime* to dally any longer, and from this moment action shall be my motto."

"Aye, action! action! responded several.

"Action let it be, then," said the impulsive Rowley, the next to speak; "and I will make a proposition, that will give gentlemen all the action they will want, besides setting an example which will show *works* as well as faith—I propose, Mr. President, that each one of us here, before any more of us run away to the enemy, seize a standard,—repair singly to the different hamlets among our mountains—cause the summoning drum to be beat for volunteers, whom we will *ourselves* lead to do battle with this Jupiter Olympus of a British General, who has so nearly annihilated us by force of Proclamation!"

"Tom Rowley all over! but a gallant push nevertheless," exclaimed Samuel Robinson in an under tone, "and yet Mr. President," he continued rising, "if our spirited colleague's proposal should be carried into effect, we should still want a regularly enlisted force to serve as a nucleus to volunteers, especially under such officers as most of us would make. I therefore move we vote to raise a company of an hundred men, which will be as many as all the contributions we can obtain among our poor and distressed people, will equip and support very long in the field."

"And I," said Clark, "believing we may venture to go a little higher than that, propose to raise two companies of sixty each."

"No, no," cried several voices. "One company—means can be found for no more."

"Yes, yes, the larger number—I go for two companies," cried others.

"And I go for neither, Mr. President," said Ira Allen, dashing down his pen upon the table, by the side of which he had been sitting in deep cogitation. "I have heard all the propositions yet advanced—see the difficulties of all, and yet I see a way by which we can do something more worthy the character of the Green Mountain Boys—and that too without infringing the Constitution or distressing the people. I therefore move, Sir, that this Council resolve to raise a whole regiment of men, appoint their officers, and take such prompt measures for their enlistment, that within one week every glen in our mountains shall resound with the din of military preparations."

"Chimerical!" said one who, in common with the rest of the Council, seemed to hear with much surprise a proposition of such magnitude so confidently put forth, when the general doubt appeared to be whether even the comparatively trifling one of Clark should be adopted.

"Impossible—utterly impossible to raise pay for half of them," exclaimed others.

"Don't let us say that, till compelled to," said Carpenter in an encouraging tone. "Though I don't now see where the means are to come from, yet new light may break in on us by another day, so that we can see our way clear to sustain this proposition. If there should, we should feel like *men* again."

"Amen to all that," responded Clark, "and as the hour of adjournment has arrived, I move that our young colleague who seems so confident in the matter of means, be a committee of one, to devise those ways and means to pay the bounties and

wages of the regiment he proposes, and that he make his report thereof by sunrise to-morrow morning."

"I second that motion, so plase ye, Mr. President," cried Lyon in his usual full determined tone and Irish accent—"I go for Mr. Allen's proposition entirely, manes or no manes. But the manes must and shall be found. We will put the brave gentleman's brains under the screw to-night," he added jocosely, "and if he appears empty handed in the morning, he ought to be expelled from the Council. Aye, and I'll move it too, by the two bulls that redamed me!"

"I accept the terms!" said Allen—"give me a room by myself, pen, ink, paper and candles, and I will abide the condition."

"For your light, Mr. Allen, as your task is to find money where there is none to any common view, I would advise you to borrow the wonderful lamp of Aladdin," gaily added Rowley, as the Council broke up and separated for the night.

At sunrise the next morning all the Council were in their seats to receive the promised report. They were aware that Allen had spent the whole night on the business committed to his charge; for, hour after hour during that important night, they had heard the alternate scratching of his rapid pen, and the sound of his footsteps as he paced his solitary chamber, intensely revolving in his teeming mind the details of a plan, on the success of which with the Council he felt the last chance of making a stand against the invaders of the State must depend. This circumstance, together with the expectation which his confident manner, and known fertility in expedients had previously created, that he would present some feasible plan for carrying out his proposal, though no one could conjecture its character, now caused his appearance to be awaited with no little curiosity and solicitude.—They were not long kept in suspense. Allen, with his papers in hand, came in, and after announcing his readiness to report, calmly proceeded to unfold his plan, which was nothing more nor

less than the bold and undreamed-of step of confiscating, seizing and, on the shortest legal notice, selling at the post, the estate of every Tory in Vermont, for the public service!

The speaker having read his report, consisting of a decree of confiscation, drawn up ready for adoption by the Council, and a list of candidates or nominations of officers for a regiment of Rangers, he quickly resumed his seat and patiently awaited the action of the Council. But they were taken by such complete surprise by a proposition, at that time so new in the colonies, so bold and so startling in its character, that, for many minutes, not a word or whisper was heard through the hushed assembly, whose bowed heads and working countenances showed how intensely their minds were engaged in trying to grapple with the subject matter on which their action was so unexpectedly required.

Soon, however, low murmurs of doubt or disapproval began to be heard, and the expressions—*Unprecedented step! Doubtful policy! Injury to the cause!* became distinguishable among the more timid in different parts of the room, when the prompt and fearless Matthew Lyon, whose peculiar traits of intellect had made him the first to meet and master the proposition, which jumped so well with his feelings, and whose consequent resolve to support it was only strengthened by the tokens of rising opposition he perceived around him, now sprang to his feet, and, bringing his broad palms together with a loud slap, exultingly exclaimed: "The child is born, Mr. President! My head," he continued, "has been in a continual fog, ever since we met, till the present moment. But now, thank God, I can see my way out of it,—I can now see at a glance how all we want, can be readily—aye, and righteously, accomplished! I can already see a regiment of our brave mountaineers in arms before me, as the certain fruits of this bold, bright thought of our young friend here.

"*Unprecedented step* is it? It may be so with us timid Republicans; but is it so with our enemies, who are this moment

threatening to crush us, because we object to receive their law and precedent? How, in Heaven's name, were they to obtain the lands of half Vermont, which they offered the lion-hearted Ethan Allen if he would join them, but by confiscating *our* estates? What became of the estates of those in their country, who, like ourselves, rebelled against their government? Why, sir, they were confiscated! Can *they* complain, then, if we adopt a measure, which, in case we are vanquished, they will visit on *our* estates, to say nothing of our necks? And can these recreant rascals themselves, who have left their property among us, and gone off to help fasten the very law and precedent on us, complain at our doing what they will be the first to recommend to be done to us, if their side prevails? Where, then, is the *doubtful policy* of our anticipating them in the measure, any more than seizing one of their loaded guns in battle and turning it against them?

Injury to the cause, will it be? Will it injure our cause here, where men are daily deserting to the British, in the belief that we shall not dare touch their property, to strike a blow that will deter all the wavering, and most others of any property, from leaving us hereafter? Will it injure our cause here, to have a regiment of regular troops, who will draw into the field four times their numbers of volunteers? If that be an injury, Mr. President, I only wish we had more of them! With half a dozen such injuries, we would rout Burgoyne's whole army in a fortnight. I go, then, for the proposition to the death, Mr. President. Yes, by the two Balls that redamed me, I will go it!"

The ice was broken. This bold dash of rough, argumentative eloquence, so adroitly addressed to men of such mould, had reached cords that rose responsive to the touch, and gave a direction to the naturally favoring current of their feelings, which was not to be diverted. The more ready and fearless, one after another, now stepped forward, removed obstructions, and gave additional force to the gathering impetus. The President, on

whom all eyes were turned, was seen nodding his approbation in spite of all his prudence. The timid rapidly gained strength, the doubters at length yielded, and, within two hours, this all important measure, which, in the eventful period of forty days, named at the outset, became the pivot on which the destinies of Vermont were turned, was unanimously adopted. The results were soon apparent. Doubt and despondency gave place to confidence and courage. Commissioners, and other officers, were appointed and dispatched in every direction to seize the marked estates, and the whole enginery of sequestration was at once put in motion. The work of enlistment under the ardent and active HERRICK and his subordinates, the military appointees of the Council, was commenced; and within one week every village and hamlet in the Green Mountains were resounding with the roll of the recruiting drum, and the clang of war-like preparation.—With such energy and success, indeed, were these operations pushed forward, that within the astonishingly short period of fifteen days, a respectably filled regiment was collected and ready to take the field. All this had led to a confident and successful appeal to New Hampshire, for aid and cooperation. STARK came. The battle of Bennington was fought and won; and the shout of victory, that went up from the banks of the Waloomsic, was a virtual proclamation of the Independence of Vermont.—For, her gallantry here, and her controlling hand in getting up an expedition, resulting so disastrously to Burgoyne—so auspiciously to the country, gave her a right to *command* a boon, which she otherwise would have sued for in vain;—a boon which she *did* thus command, thus receive,—and thus ensure for herself her subsequent proud and happy destiny.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from Ira Allen's history of Vermont, and his address to the Legislature, in relation to a cargo of military stores bought by him in Europe, for the militia of Vermont, and seized by the British;—published in 1808, now nearly out of print:

"The members of the Convention repaired to Windsor, July 4th, 1777. A draft of the Constitution was laid before them and read. The business being new, and of great consequence, required serious deliberation. The Convention had it under consideration, when the news of the evacuation of Ticonderoga arrived, which alarmed them very much, as thereby the Frontiers were exposed to the inroads of the enemy. The family of the President of the Convention, as well as those of many other members, were exposed to the foe. In this awful crisis, some were for leaving precipitately; but a severe thunder-storm came on, and during the rain, they had time to reflect; while other members, less alarmed at the news, called the attention of the whole to finish the Constitution, which was then reading for the last time. The Constitution was read through; the Convention proceeded to appoint a Council of Safety to conduct the business of the State, and adjourned without day." * * * * *

"The members of the Council of Safety, appointed as aforesaid, agreed to meet and form at Manchester, where they repaired without loss of time. Col. Thomas Chittenden was elected President, and Mr. Ira Allen (then 27 years old) Secretary to said Convention." * * * *

"The Council of Safety had no public money, nor had they any authority to lay taxes, or credit as a public body, to make or borrow money to answer the necessities of government. The government was in its infancy, and all expenses were supported at private expense. The Council were generally men of small property, yet in this situation, it became necessary to raise men for the defence of the Frontiers, with bounties and wages. Ways and means were to be found out; and the day was spent in debating on the subject. Nathan Clark, Esq., not convinced of the practicability of raising a regiment, moved in Council, that Mr. Ira Allen, (the youngest member of the Council; who insisted on raising a regiment, while a large majority of the Council were for only two companies of 60 men each) might be appointed a committee, to discover ways and means to raise, arm and support a regiment, and to make his report at sun-rise, on the morrow. The Council acquiesced, and Mr. Allen took the matter into consideration, and spent the night alone in concerting plans; and he reported the ways and means, viz., that the Council should appoint Commissioners of sequestration, with authority to seize the goods and chattels of all persons who had, or should join the common enemy; that all moveable property so seized should be sold at public vendue, and the proceeds paid to a treasurer, to be appointed by the Council, for the purpose of paying a bounty of $10, and one month's pay in advance; that every man furnish his own arms, &c.

The Council appointed Commissioners of sequestration, Ira Allen Treasurer, and the officers for a regiment, (the nomination of which Mr. Allen had paid much attention to in the solitary hours of the night.) Samuel Herrick was appointed Colonel, and the men enlisted and said bounties paid in 15 days, out of the confiscated property of the enemies of the new State. This was (supposed to be) the first instance of seizing and selling the property of the enemies of American Independence."

"Abel Spencer, of Clarendon, who had been a stickler for New York, had been suddenly converted to an advocate for a new State, and so ingratiated himself, as a good whig, that he was elected a member of the Council of Safety. Mr. Allen declared he would not take a seat in the Council if Spencer did, and that he should not be surprised if Spencer should go to Burgoyne's camp; which he did, and died with the British soon after."

An original letter written in Council by Spooner, in which he alludes to Spencer's desertion, is still preserved in the collection of the Historical Society.

Though personal estate was only at first seized, probably to raise money for immediate necessities, yet the confiscation and sale of real estate was either put in train at the same time, or soon after.

THE LIFE & SERVICES OF MATTHEW LYON.

THE MARBLES OF VERMONT.

TWO ADDRESSES

PRONOUNCED OCTOBER 29, 1858,

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN THE PRESENCE OF

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VERMONT;

BY

PLINY H. WHITE.

AND

ALBERT D. HAGER.

Published by Order of the General Assembly.

BURLINGTON:
TIMES JOB OFFICE PRINT.
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THE LIFE & SERVICES OF MATTHEW LYON.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It seems to me in accordance with the purposes which the Vermont Historical Society has in view, that the simple discourse, annually delivered in its presence, should be devoted to rescuing from oblivion some latent facts belonging to the history of our State, rather than to any general discussion of the value of historical studies, or to a reproduction of historical narratives with which the public is already familiar, or has easy means of becoming familiar. To exhume one fact from the grave of forgetfulness, to unclothe it from the garments of exaggeration with which tradition has invested it, or to fix with certainty a single unauthenticated date, is more serviceable to you than any amount of declamation, however eloquent, can possibly be. Nor do I conceive it an unprofitable task to record any fact, however trivial or unimportant it may appear to be. The ultimate value of events is almost never apparent, either to him who transacts them, or to him who first puts them on record. It was well said by Franklin that a new fact is like a new-born child, the future importance and destiny of which it is impossible to predict. Looking back through a series of years, the scholar can see that the whole current of history has often been turned by a single expression or incident, so trifling as hardly to attract attention at the time of its occurrence. On the other hand, many events that have engaged the regard of nations, have, in lapse of time, almost vanished from the recollection of men, and have left no abiding impression upon the History of the World. The apparent greatness or smallness of events is no index of their real

value. Great and small are, in history, as every where else, words of mereo utward description, and not of adequate measurement.

Thus much by way of explana ion why I have selected as my subject, on this oceasion, the life of an individual, who, though almost forgotten by the present generation, onee occupied as conspieuous a position in the eyes of the State and of the Nation as any Vermonter, however eminent, now does; and who, for that reason, if there were no other, deserves the attention of the Vermont Historieal Society. He was not learned, he possessed no extraordinary powers of mind, and he had to struggle with unusually adverse circumstanees; yet by his strong will, his fiery energy, and his unconquerable perseveranee, he made himself felt in whatever sphere of aetivity he exerted himself. Sixty years ago, he might have said to any man in Vermont—"not to know me argues yourself unknown;" and not to know him and his career would, indeed, have then implied gross ignorance of politics and politicians. But so evaneseent is politieal reputation, that when I mention his name it will be a strange one to many of you!

The early settlers of Vermont were a peeuliar people; peculiar because the condition of things was so. For many years, the whole territory was the theater of wars, conducted with all those atroeities which have made the name of Indian a synonym for everything inhuman and cruel. When it ceased to be oecupied by the aborigines, it became a thoroughfare, through which they passed, on their way to assail the settlements in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. At a still later period, it was the route by whieh the French and Indians went to commit their depredations on the frontiers. For these reasons, a residence in Vermont was long regarded as dangerous and, indeed, impracticable; and although beginnings were made at various points, it was not till Canada was completely wrested from the French, (A.D. 1760,) that permanent settlements beeame possible. Even then, the uncertain politieal condition of the territory stood in the way of its being rapidly populated. Men hesitated at living where they knew not of what State they were citizens, whether of New Hampshire or of New York. But this same uncertainty made the country more attractive to certain classes of men, the rough, the bold, the restless, the adventurous, who could find, in the excitements of border skirmishing and of political agitations, just the kind of happiness which their natures craved. Sueh men as these were the

early settlers of Vermont, attracted to it by the very things which repelled less energetic men from it. Ethan Allen was the type of that class, and to it belonged Remember Baker, Azariah Wright, and hosts of others with whose names every Vermonter is familiar. To it also belonged a young, ardent, combative, rough-and-ready Irishman—MATTHEW LYON, of whom and of whose doings it is my purpose to discourse on this occasion.

Lyon, was a native of Wicklow County, Ireland, were he was born about 1746. His parents were poor, and his father died while Matthew was a mere boy. He was, however, sent to school at Dublin, where he made good proficiency, and not only acquired the elements of an English education, but obtained a respectable knowledge of Latin. The straitened circumstances of the family forbade that he should pursue his studies further, and he was apprenticed to a printer and book-binder, in Dublin, to learn those trades. Here he remained till he was thirteen years old, when he was induced to abondon both his master and his mother, by the representations of an American Sea-captain, who assured him that his knowledge of business could be turned to great account in this country. He was delighted with the brilliant prospects presented to his imagination; but there was a violent struggle between obligation and filial affection on the one hand, and inclination on the other; a struggle which, in after life, he was wont to describe with much feeling. Inclination at length triumphed, and stealing into his mother's chamber, in the gray of the morning, where she still slept, he took a lingering farewell look, dropped a silent tear, and, gathering hastily what little clothing he had, and with not a penny in his pocket, he hurried to the ship which was soon bearing him to a new and unknown land. During the passage, he was attacked by violent sickness, and was delirious for many days. On his recovery, he found himself destitute even of so much clothing as was needful to supply the place of that which his disease had rendered unfit for further use; and his necessities were supplied from the scanty wardrobes of some abandoned women, who were his fellow passengers, and who, true to the kindly instincts which inhere in womanly nature, even when most depraved, had tenderly ministered to him in his sickness when all others deserted him, and now, out of their own deep poverty, supplied his yet greater need.

In the early history of emigration to America, it was quite customary, for those who had no means of defraying the expenses of their passage, to make an arrangement with the ship-owner, by virtue of which they were, on arrival, indentured to any person who would pay their passage, and were thus held to labor till they had earned the amount advanced for them. These passengers were called "redemptioners." Such an arrangement as this had been made between Lyon and the Captain, and he was accordingly indentured, as soon as might be after his arrival. After remaining for a while with his first master, the remainder of his apprenticeship was assigned to another person, the consideration of the transfer being a yoke of stags. This little incident, infected as it was with just the kind of ludicrousness which was most appreciable by our forefathers, was the basis of many a pleasant joke, as well as of many a bitter taunt, during his subsequent career. He himself was never ashamed of it, rightly judging that the humbler were the circumstances of his early life, the more to his credit it was that, by force of his own ability and energy, he had risen to positions of high honor and great influence. In truth, he was rather fond of referring to this event, and, for many years, his favorite oath was: "by the bulls that redeemed me!" But there were not a few whose ignoble minds looked rather at the original abasement than at the subsequent eminence, and they made no end of scoffs and jeers at what they deemed the irreparable disgrace of being sold for a pair of stags. The political wits and witlings of his time were never weary of ringing the changes upon it. He respected himself too highly to be offended at such sorry jests, but his children had many a hard bout of fisticuffs with other children, who bantered them on that subject.

Hugh Hanna, of Litchfield, Ct., and Jesse Leavenworth, afterwards one of the founders of Danville, Vt., were the holders of Lyon's indentures, but which of them was prior in possession is not known.

Neither record nor tradition bears witness to any other facts in Lyon's early life. His high expectations were certainly disappointed, for the next that we hear of him he was a laborer in the employ of Thomas Chittenden, of Arlington, Vt., afterwards Governor of the State In the meantime, he had married a woman by the name of Hosford, by whom he had four children, Anna, James, Pamelia and Laurin. She died, and he afterwards married his employer's daugh-

ter, Beulah. Those who remember the shock experienced in New York, two years ago, when the daughter of a Fifth Avenue gentleman married her father's coachman, may suppose that Gov. Chittenden felt disgraced by his daughter's alliance with an Irish laborer. But the line of demarcation, between master and servant, was not at all rigidly drawn, in Chittenden's day, and he was the last man to be suspected of any other than the most democratic notions in that regard. A well authenticated anecdote illustrates the manner in which his domestic arrangements were ordered. Some high-born ladies from the city of Albany, who were visiting at the Governor's, were greatly astonished, when the hour of dinner arrived, to see Mrs. Chittenden step to the door and, with a long tin horn, wind a sonorous blast, summoning from the field a number of laborers, who, having performed all due ablutions, were seated at the same table with the Governor and his guests. When opportunity offered, some of the ladies asked Mrs. Chittenden if the servants usually sat at the table with the family. The quick-witted woman detected the insinuation that lurked in the question, and answered, "They usually do, but I have been telling the Governor we ought to set a table for them first, they have to work so much harder than we do." Lyon's marriage was approved by all the parties in interest, nor was it in reality an unequal match. The bride, governor's daughter though she was, was not more refined than the groom, perhaps not so much so. She was coarse and masculine in her manners, but intelligent, warm hearted, and noted for the prompt benevolence with which she ministered to the sick and needy. She bore him four children, Chittenden, Minerva, Matthew and Noah, lived with him nearly or quite half a century, and survived him a few years.

Lyon's first appearance in public life was not such as to secure popular approbation, or to augur favorably for his future career. In the summer of 1776, he was lieutenant of a corps of soldiers commanded by Capt. Fassett, and belonging to the Northern Army, under the command of Gen. Gates. This corps was stationed at Jericho, far in advance of the main army, and exposed to the first attack of the British force under Sir Guy Carlton. The officers and men alike became uneasy at occupying so dangerous a position, without support, and though the officers were unwilling to incur the disgrace of abandoning their post, some of them did not scruple to suggest to

the soldiers, that if they should mutiny and march off, the officers would be under no obligation to remain. The soldiers were not slow to take the hint, or to leave the position, nor did the officers long delay to follow. They insisted that Lyon should convey to Gen. Gates, at Ticonderoga, the tidings of the abandonment; which he did. The intelligence was received with great indignation by the whole army, and when Lyon was introduced into the presence of Gen. Gates, the rough old soldier damned him for a coward, and ordered him under arrest. He palliated his offence as much as possible, by casting the chief burden of blame upon the commanding officer, and he insisted that, so far from advising to the flight, he had opposed it to the last, and yielded only because he was overruled. But this did not avail him. He and his associate officers were tried by court-martial, and cashiered. This was an unfortunate affair for Lyon, and although in July of the following year, he was technically restored to his standing in the army, and received from Gen. Schuyler the appointment of temporary paymaster, the stigma which attaches to a cashiered soldier followed and annoyed him for many years. It barbed the point of many a poetical squib, and added a sting to many a political leader, in those days of fierce and virulent partizanship which characterized the early history of federalism and democracy. It gave him the title of "Knight of the Wooden Sword," exposed him to frequent insults, and at length involved him in a disgraceful brawl on the floor of Congress. It is hardly to be believed that Lyon was a coward. Lack of physical courage is not a defect of Irish nature, and Lyon showed, in his subsequent career, that he did not differ from his countrymen in readiness to fight, upon reasonable provocation thereto. It is certain that his reputation in Vermont was not impaired by this misadventure. During the controversy between Vermont and New York, he joined the troops of his adopted State, soon received the captaincy of a company, and rose by regular gradations to the rank of colonel.

He commenced his career as a civilian in quite subordinate positions. In 1778, he was Deputy Secretary to the Governor and Council, Thomas Chandler, Jr., being his principal in the office. At the same time he was Clerk of the Court of Confiscation, an anomalous tribunal, originally extemporized by the Council of Safety, but continued under the authority of the Legislature, and invested with the extra-

ordinary power of ordering the confiscation and sale of the estates "of the enemies of this State, living within the State, who distinguished themselves by repairing to the enemy, or other treasonable conduct." He continued in the last named office till 1780, and perhaps till a later period, In 1785, the Council of Censors required that he should deliver the records of the Court to their order, which, for some reason, he declined to do. The Council thereupon passed a resolution recommending that he should be impeached before the Governor and Council, and requesting the General Assembly to appoint some one to prosecute the impeachment to immediate effect. This was accordingly done, and he was ordered to deliver up the record, or, in default thereof, to pay a fine of five hundred dollars. This proceeding was in Lyon's absence, but upon his appearance, a rehearing was ordered, and as no records of any further proceedings are to be found, it is probable that the prosecution was discontinued.

In 1779, Lyon made his first appearance in the General Assembly of Vermont, as a Representative from Arlington. That he was one of the two chosen to succeed Thomas Chittenden and Ethan Allen in that office, is evidence of the high regard in which he was held for ability and patriotism. The State had but just begun its existence, under the Constitution of 1777. Only one Legislature had been elected, by which the Constitution was sanctioned, and a code of laws promulgated. Those laws required to be revised, and the defects which experience had pointed out, to be remedied. The political affairs of the State were also in such a condition as to require the exercise of all possible prudence, discretion and firmness. Vermont had but just freed itself from an entangling alliance with sixteen towns East of Connecticut River; and New Hampshire, having regained what unquestionably belonged to it, was pressing its claim to jurisdiction over the whole of its original grants; while Massachusetts and New York, though unable to make good their pretensions, were making what my lord Coke calls "continual claim," wherein he "who hath title to enter into any lands, if he dares not enter into the same lands for doubt of beating, or for doubt of death, goeth as near to the tenements as he dare for such doubt, and by word claimeth the land to be his;" and the Congress of the United States, not siding with either one of the rival claimants, strengthened the hands of them all, by declaring its own intention

to hear, examine, and finally determine, all the matters in controversy.

To be one of sixty men charged with such mighty affairs as these, was a great honor and involved a great responsibility. What part Lyon took in the debates and other proceedings of the Legislature of 1779, the meager records of those days do not allow us to know. That he was an active member is unquestionable. His restless temperament would not permit him to be otherwise, even if he had not been brought up in the school of Allen and Chittenden, and did not represent the town in which they lived. His re-election, for the three following years, is sufficient proof that his course was satisfactory to his constituents.

While the Legislature was in session at Westminster, early in 1780, an affray took place between Lyon and Nathaniel Chipman, afterwards Judge Chipman, which might have been a tragedy, if a fortunate thought had not turned it into a comedy. Chipman had been appointed by the Legislature to investigate certain proceedings of the Court of Confiscation, and in his report he made some statements at which Lyon took offence. They met at the office of Hon. Stephen R. Bradley, and, entering into conversation on the report, Lyon remarked, with some irritation, that no man having a spark of honesty in him could have made such a report. Chipman passionately retorted by calling him an ignorant Irish puppy ; whereupon Lyon rose angrily and grasped Chipman by the hair. Chipman had a knife in his hand, with which he was mending a pen, and his first impulse was to use the knife in self defence ; but, in the meantime, Mr. Bradley had seized Lyon from behind around the arms, and was drawing him back, while he, bracing himself against Mr. Bradley, was kicking at Chipman over the table. Dropping his knife, Chipman caught Lyon by the feet, and with the aid of Mr. Bradley, carried him across the office, and deposited him flat on his back in the corner, where, with a hearty laugh by all the actors, the scene closed.

The question of receiving again, as a part of Vermont, the sixteen New Hampshire towns, whose annexation in 1778 had occasioned so much trouble, with nearly twenty others, which now desired to unite with them, came up before the Legislature of 1780; and thirty-five towns East of Connecticut River, having, in the

exercise of their popular sovereignty, voted to connect themselves with Vermont, and a large majority of the Vermont towns voted to receive them, the union was consummated at an adjourned session of the Legislature, at Windsor, on the 5th day of April, 1781. Mr. Lyon, Stephen R. Bradley, of Westminster, and Ebenezer Walbridge, of Bennington, were appointed a committee to wait upon the Convention of Representatives of the New Hampshire towns, then in session at Cornish, N. H., inform them that the union was agreed to, and invite them to take seats in the Assembly. This was accomplished on the next day. The attention of the Legislature was then turned towards a similar union, proposed by ten towns on the Western border of New York, and Mr. Lyon and Samuel Wells, of Brattleboro', were appointed a committee to join a committee from the Council in preparing a plan of union; after which the Legislature adjourned, to meet at Bennington on the 2nd Wednesday of June. It was then voted to receive the New York towns, and Mr. Lyon, with Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, and Edward Harris, of Halifax, constituted a committee to wait upon the members elect from those towns, and inform them that the Assembly was ready to receive them. How Mr. Lyon voted in regard of these filibustering proceedings, there is no record of yeas and nays to inform us, but his appointment on so many committees is sufficient assurance that he was in favor of extending the area of Vermont jurisdiction as widely as possible.

In 1781, Mr. Lyon again represented Arlington in the Legislature, which held its session at Charlestown in the "East Union," now Charlestown N. H. The government of New Hampshire did not relish this invasion of their territory, and sent a "Major Runnals," with two hundred men, for the purpose, as was supposed, of ejecting the intruders. It was kindly suggested to him that, if he had any such design, he would need a few more men, and he deemed it prudent, on the whole, not to attempt any interruption of the proceedings. The chief object of attention with this Legislature, and with that of 1782, in which Mr. Lyon again, and for the last time, represented Arlington, was the negotiations with Congress for the admission of Vermont into the Union. What action the Legislature took, from time to time, in that regard, it would be easy here to narrate, but what share Lyon had in furtherance of that action, it is impossible now to determine.

In 1783, Mr. Lyon removed from Arlington to Fairhaven, a town in which the population was very scanty, and no organization took place till August 28th, 1783. Here, he at once took the foremost position, in business and in politics. He was, in fact, the father of the town. He built a saw mill, grist mill, paper mill and forge, and engaged largely in the manufacture of lumber, paper and iron. Much of his machinery was brought, with great labor and expense, from Lenox, Mass. All the branches of business that he established at Fairhaven, have been continued till the present time, upon the identical sites selected by him, though the lapse of years has rendered necessary several renovations of the buildings. To complete, in this connection what is to be said of his business career in Fairhaven,—in 1793, he established a printing office in the same building with his paper mill, and commenced the publication of a small-sized newspaper, called "The Farmer's Library." It was edited partly by himself and his son James, and partly by the printer, one Spooner. This was the most hazardous of his enterprises, for in a country so new and so scantily populated, there could be but small demand for newspapers. There were then only three other papers in the State: the Gazette, at Bennington, the Herald, at Rutland, and the Journal, at Windsor. The Library was published three or four years, during a part of which time it bore the name of the "Fairhaven Gazette." Several books were issued from Lyon's press, among which were a Life of Franklin, and a novel, entitled: "Alphonso and Dalinda." In 1798, when he was running as candidate for Congress, and the Rutland Herald, then edited by Dr. Samuel Williams, refused to publish communications in his favor, he established a semi-monthly Magazine, with the sonorous title of "The Scourge of Aristocracy and Repository of Important Political Truths." It was a duodecimo of thirty-six pages, nominally edited and published by James Lyon, but containing much from the pen of the Colonel himself. The first number bore date October 1st, 1798, and the publication was continued for only a single year, which, considering that the price was $3, per annum, was quite as long as it could reasonably be expected to survive.

Lyon was the first representative from Fairhaven, in 1783, and held the same office for ten of the succeeding fourteen years. His whole term of service in the Legislature of Vermont, was fifteen years. In 1786, he was one of the Assistant Judges of Rutland County Court.

Vermont was admitted into the Union, March 4th, 1791, and in the summer of the same year, Lyon became a candidate for Congress as "the representative of the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests, in preference to any of their law characters." His rivals were Israel Smith and Isaac Tichenor. At the election, in August, Lyon had a fair plurality, but not a majority, (Lyon, 597; Smith, 513; Tichenor, 473.) Tichenor having withdrawn from the canvass before the second election, in September, Smith was then elected, by a majority of 391 over Lyon. In January, 1793, Lyon was again a candidate for Congress, Tichenor, Smith, and Samuel Hitchcock being his competitors. No choice was effected at the first trial, (Smith, 834; Lyon, 638; Tichenor, 336; Hitchcock, 79.) It is evidence that Lyon was most popular where he was best known, that in Fairhaven and four adjoining towns, he had 355 of the 376 votes cast. At the second balloting, March 4th, Mr. Smith was re-elected. Lyon continued to be a candidate at each succeeding election, and polled a constantly increasing vote. In December, 1794, the first attempt at election failed, as on previous occasions; and at the second trial, on the second Thursday of February, 1795, Lyon and Smith being the only candidates, Smith received the meagre majority of 21, in an aggregate of nearly 3,600 votes, (Smith, 1,804; Lyon, 1,783.) Defective proceedings, in the towns of Hancock and Kingston, encouraged Lyon to contest the election, but without success. In 1796, he was again, and for the fourth time, a candidate, and at last a successful one.

When Lyon entered the House of Representatives, neither party could be said to have a clear majority, and it depended upon the course taken by a few wavering individuals, whether the policy of the House should be democratic or federal. But the decided tone of the President's Message, backed by a strong majority in the Senate, confirmed the doubtful members, aud made the House federal enough for all practical purposes. Lyon's debut, as a speaker, took place, (Nov. 24th, 1797,) during the debate on the answer to the Message. In those days, it was usual for Congress to reply to the Message, and echo back its sentiments, if they were acceptable to the majority. A reply, sufficiently in accordance with the doctrines of the Message, having been adopted, Lyon made a long speech, denouncing the practice of making such responses as inconvenient and ridiculous, as well

as slavish and anti-republican, a waste of time, and a delay of public business. He took occasion to set forth, at considerable length, his own services in the cause of democracy, and concluded with a motion that he personally might be excused from complying with the customary attendance, on the presentation of the reply. The speech was not very well received by either party. The democrats took offence at his apparent disposition to exalt himself in the party, and the federalists regarded his proposition with contemptuous indifference. Mr. Dana, of Connecticut, remarked that the company of the gentleman from Vermont was not particularly desirable, and expressed a hope that he might unanimously be allowed to absent himself, and leave was unanimously granted. At the second session of the same Congress, when the response of the House to the Message was somewhat general and ambiguous, he renewed his motion to be excused from a personal waiting on the President; but this time the motion was voted down by a large majority.

On the 30th of January, 1798, a war of words took place between Mr. Lyon and the Hon. Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, the result of which was a personal encounter on the floor of Congress; the first one in the series of such affrays that have, from time to time, disgusted or shocked the nation. The House had voted to impeach William Blount, (formerly Governor of the Territory South of the Ohio,) for misconduct while in office, and the tellers were engaged in counting the ballots for managers of the impeachment, the Speaker having left the Chair, and many members their seats, as was not unusual on such occasions, though the House remained in session. The Speaker and several members of the House, among whom were Mr. Lyon and the Hon. Samuel W. Dana, of Connecticut, gathered around the fire and engaged in conversation. Between Lyon and Dana, the conversation soon degenerated into dispute, respecting the effect of an amendment to a certain bill, which had recently been under discussion. Lyon declared that the Representatives, from Connecticut, would every one of them lose their re-election if they voted against the amendment, and said other things of an irritating nature, to which Dana replied in the same style. The Speaker here interposed, saying, "Gentlemen, keep yourselves cool; if you proceed much further, you will want seconds." Lyon then addressed himself to the Speaker,

and, in allusion to Dana's fiery temper, said that he had in his own mind designated the mission to Cayenne as an appropriate one for the member from Connecticut. A brief and pleasant conversation ensued, after which, Lyon resumed his animadversions upon the conduct of the Connecticut delegation. He declared that they were acting in direct opposition to the wishes and opinions of nine-tenths of their constituents, that they were seeking their own interests regardless of the public good, that they were looking for offices, not holding it material whether the salaries annexed were nine thousand dollars, or one thousand, and that he well knew the people of Connecticut, as he had to fight them in his own District.

Mr. Griswold, who sat near, asked if he had fought them with his wooden sword, alluding to a report that a wooden sword had been presented him, when he was cashiered at Ticonderoga. Lyon, not hearing the question, or affecting not to hear it, continued his remarks to the Speaker, and said that when the Connecticut people came into his district, on visits to their relations, they came with strong prejudices against him and his politics, but after conversing with them freely he could always bring them to his side, and that if he could go into Connecticut, and talk with them there, he could effect an entire change in the politics of the State. Griswold, then laying his hand upon Lyon's arm to secure his attention, said, "If you were to go into Connecticut for the purpose you mention, you could not alter the opinion of the meanest hostler." Lyon replied that he knew better, that if he were to remove there, and conduct a paper for six months, he could effect a revolution, and induce the people to turn out all their present representatives. Griswold then said, "When you go into Connecticut, you had better take with you your wooden sword." To this, Lyon made no other reply than by spitting in Griswold's face, who thereupon stepped back, clenched his fist, and was about to take immediate revenge for the insult ; but his colleague interposed, and reminded him that another time and place were more appropriate for the settlement of the affair. He and his colleague then left the house.

As soon as the matter then in hand was disposed of, a resolution was introduced into the House, to expel Mr Lyon "for a

gross indecency committed in the presence of the House." This was vehemently opposed by the democrats, headed by Nicholas and Gallatin. Parties were so nearly equal in the House, that the loss of a single man was a serious misfortune to his party, and though it was not possible to excuse the act, there was ground for a plausible argument that the House should not take cognizance of what was done while it was in such a disorderly condition. This was urged very strongly, but at length the resolution was referred to the Committee of Privileges, with instructions to report the facts and their opinion thereon. While the investigation was going on, Lyon addressed a letter to the Speaker, declaring that he was ignorant of the House being in session, and expressing his regret that he unwittingly transgressed its privileges. On the 2nd of February, the Committee made a report, recommending the adoption of the resolution of expulsion. This gave rise to a smart debate, in which Lyon participated, defending himself as having only answered one insult by another, and giving a detailed statement of the affair at Jericho, all the blame of which he threw upon the chief officer. A motion to substitute reprimand for expulsion was lost, by a vote of 44 to 52, and the resolution of expulsion was adopted, by a corresponding vote of 52 to 44; but as a vote of two thirds was necessary to expel a member, Lyon retained his seat.

Griswold, not satisfied with this result, determined to take his revenge with his own hands. On the 20th of February, having provided himself with a heavy hickory cane, (perhaps it would be inexcusable in me as an antiquarian, if I should omit to mention that he bought it of one John McAllaster, 48 Chesnut St., Philadelphia,) he assailed Lyon while in his seat in the House. Morning prayer had been offered, but the House was not called to order, and members were occupied in reading, writing, or conversation. Lyon was in his seat, engaged with papers, and having a small cane leaning against his chair. He did not notice Griswold's approach in season to meet him, but while still in his seat Griswold struck him violently on the head, repeating the blows as rapidly as possible, so that several blows were inflicted before he could put himself in position for defence. In the meantime, he was disengaging himself as best he might from the desk and chair that embarrassed his movements, endeavoring to regain his cane, which

he was unable to do, by reason of the number and violence of the blows that were rained upon his head and shoulders. Having at length extricated himself, he rushed towards his assailant, and endeavored to close with him; but Griswold retreated, pushing him off with the left hand, and continuing to ply the cane, till the parties came into the vicinity of the fire place, where Lyon possessed himself of a pair of tongs, and went into the affray with fresh hope and courage. The combatants soon closed, and in the contest, Griswold got the better of Lyon, threw him on the floor and fell upon him. By this time, some of the other members began to think it expedient to interfere. Some were for parting the combatants, others for letting them finish the fight; but at length Mr. Haven and Mr. Elmendorf seized each a leg of Griswold and dragged him off. All this while the Speaker forbore to call the House to order, and interfered only to remonstrate with those who attempted to withdraw Griswold from the fray. The similarity of some of the circumstances of the assault to those which, two years ago, attended the murderous attack of Brooks upon Summer, is so marked that it is hardly necessary to call attention to it. A resolution to expel both Griswold and Lyon for this misconduct, was negatived by a vote of 73 to 21, and a resolution to censure was also lost.

This brawl furnished a copious theme for the wits and satirists of those days, and they availed themselves of it without stint. Not to protract this discourse to an unreasonable length, only a few citations will be made. In the "Echo," a volume of political poems, H. H. Breckenridge comments upon the pretentions of John Woods, a candidate for Congress from Western Pennsylvania, in 1798, as follows:

"And yet perhaps, from news arrived of late,
Of Griswold's breaking Lyon's leaden pate,
John Woods may think, for empty is his head,
The cudgel's force of sense will stand instead,
This would be true, if in Creation's round,
Another Matthew Lyon could be found,
Blows in that case would take the place of words,
And reason yield the palm to wooden swords"

In the same volume, in the "Versification of a Letter from a Political Character in Philadelphia, to his Friend in Connecticut," there is another allusion to the same affair:—

"These Federalists, too, are an insolent race,
They won't e'en permit us to spit in their face.
In Congress, behold, a great LYON appears,
Imported from Ireland and purchased with steers;

He just took the license on Griswold to squirt
A stream of mundungus, not thinking of hurt,
When, lo! the fierce Yankee flew into a passion,
And gave the bog-trotter a notable thrashing,
The King of the Beasts most lustily roared,
At his army acquaintance, the old WOODEN SWORD.
No Christian, I'm sure's this Connecticut shaver,
He ought not to 've grumbled, but swallowed the slaver,
The Testament says you must turn t'other cheek,
And not go to using the hickory stick."

A long passage, on the same subject, also occurs in the ".Political Greenhouse, for the year 1798," and Fessenden devoted several pages of "The Jeffersoniad" to Lyon and his career.

The scene also furnished the subject of a caricature, roughly executed on wood, with the title "Congressional Pugilists," and the motto, probably taken from a song of those days:—

"He in a trice struck Lyon thrice,
Upon his head, enrag'd, sir,
Who seized the tongs to ease his wrongs,
And Griswold thus engag'd, sir."

Among those who are represented, as surrounding the combatants, are Josuha Dayton, of New Jersey, the Speaker, Jonathan W. Cady, of Philadelphia, the Clerk, and the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, the Chaplain. All the spectators are much interested, and some of them highly enjoying the scene. If Lyon's face was half as homely as this picture represents it, there would be good foundation for Fessenden's verse, in "The Dagon of Democracy:"

"No commandment you break,
Though an idol you make
Of the ugly old democrat, seeing
That nothing at all, Sirs,
Flies, walks, swims, or crawls, Sirs,
In the likeness of such an odd being."

But as the caricature came from the hands of Lyon's enemies, it may well be presumed that the comeliness of his face was not less marred by the graver of the artist, than by the cane of the representative from Connecticut.

The democrats were not inactive in the same kind of warfare, and they did their best, with song and satire, to turn the tide of ridicule upon their opponents. Griswold received the title of "Knight of the *rheum-full* countenance," which clung to him for a long time.

On the 4th of July, 1798, a law of the United States went into operation, enacting that any person who should write, or publish, or cause to be written or published, or assist in writing or publishing, any

words calumniating the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President of the United States, or any words calculated to bring either of them into disrepute, or to stir up sedition in the country, should be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not more than two years. This was the famous "sedition law," which, while the government designed it as a shield to protect itself against the fierce assaults of its enemies, proved to be one of the sharpest swords with which they encountered and, at last, slew it. Lyon was one of the earliest sufferers by this law.

A short time previous to the passing of the law, a violent attack on Lyon was made, by the Vermont Journal, and was copied by several of the federal papers in Philadelphia. He was not the man to submit to an assault without making a vigorous defence, to say no more. He accordingly addressed a letter to the Editor of the Journal, who published it in that paper, (July 31st, 1798,) as it was intended he should. Some paragraphs in this letter were apparently within the scope of the "sedition law," and there was no lack of enemies to put the law into action. At a term of the Circuit Court of the United States, held at Rutland, Oct. 3rd, 1798, an indictment in three counts was found against him by the grand jury. The principal count was founded upon the following passage in his letter to the Vermont Journal :—

"As to the Executive, when I shall see the efforts of that power bent on the promotion of the comfort, the happiness, and the accommodation of the people, that Executive shall have my zealous and uniform support. But whenever I shall, on the part of the Executive, see every consideration of public welfare swallowed up in a continual grasp for power, in an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, or selfish avarice; when I shall behold men of real merit daily turned out of office, for no other cause but independency of spirit; when I shall see men of firmness, merit, years, abilities, and experience, discarded, in their applications for office, for fear they possess that independence, and men of meanness preferred, for the ease with which they can take up and advocate opinions, the consequences of which they know but little of; when I shall see the sacred name of religion employed as a state engine to make mankind hate and persecute each other, I shall not be their humble advocate."

A very well balanced period, surely, and by no means deficient in point and vigor; yet, there is hardly a political writer in our day who does not, every week, write a great deal which is much more worthy than that of being called "scurrilous, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory." Lyon was also charged with procuring the publication of a "Letter from an American diplomatic character to a member of Congress in Philadelphia," said to have been written by Joel Barlow, the famous poet and politician, to Abraham Baldwin, and containing, with other seditious matter, the following passage:—

"The misunderstanding between the two Governments, (meaning the Governments of the United States and France,) have become extremely alarming; confidence is completely destroyed; mistrust, jealousy, and a disposition to a wrong attribution of motives, are so apparent, as to require the utmost caution in every word and action that are to come from your Executive,—I mean, if your object is to avoid hostilities. Had this truth been understood with you, before the recall of Monroe, before the coming and second coming of Pinkney, had it guided the pens that wrote the bullying speech of your President, and stupid answer of your Senate, at the opening of Congress, in November last, I should probably have had no occasion to address you this letter; but, when we found him borrowing the language of Edmund Burke, and telling the world that although he should succeed in treating with the French, there was no dependence to be placed on any of their engagements, that their religion and morality were at an end, that they had turned pirates and plunderers, and it would be necessary to be perpetually armed against them, though you are at peace, we wondered the answer of both Houses, had not been an order to send him to a mad-house. Instead of this, the Senate have echoed the speech with more servility than ever George the Third experienced from either House of Parliament."

The indictment was taken up for trial, on the sixth of October, and was prosecuted with great vigor, not to say venom. Hon. William Patterson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Hon. Samuel Hitchcock, District Judge for the District of Vermont, constituted the Court, both of them strong Federalists, as were also the District Attorney and the Marshal. Lyon could expect no leniency from such a Court, and always insisted that there was gross unfairness in the selection of the jury, and the instructions given them on trial.

He had a substantial ground of defence, in the fact, that the letter to the Vermont Journal was written, and dispatched by mail, on the 20th of June, fourteen days before the passage of the "sedition law," which could only be made to reach his case by an *ex post facto* operation. He conducted his own defence, and denied that he had any complicity whatever with the publication of Barlow's letter, but insisted that, on the contrary, he had endeavored to suppress it, by destroying whatever copies came to his possession. But none of his defences availed him. Judge Patterson charged strongly against him, and in language which savored much more of political warmth than of judicial dignity. Lyon was convicted, and sentenced to four months imprisonment, and to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, with costs of persecution, taxed at $60.96.

By the law, as it then was, a prisoner of the United States might be committed to any jail in the State, at the discretion of the Marshal. Instead of availing himself of the jail at Rutland, the Marshal, Jabez G. Fitch, of Vergennes, conveyed his prisoner to that place, where he could have a more immediate oversight of him, and committed him to close jail, treating him with great and unnecessary rigor. He was denied the use of writing materials, and was not allowed a fire in his cell, though the cold of October and November was very severe. He was at length told that he could not be warmed at the public expense, but that there was a small stove near at hand, which he might buy for $18, and make himself comfortable. To this extortion he declined to submit, and his friends at Fairhaven sent him a stove from that place. For some months, he was not allowed to see the friends who sought to alleviate his condition by visiting him. When this restriction was removed, all visitors were required to record their names, that they might be reported to the Marshal. Lyon's friends offered to give bail, to the amount of $100,000, that if he were allowed a comfortable room in the jailer's house, he should make no attempt to escape; but this favor was refused. He addressed a letter to Gen. Stevens T. Mason, Senator from Virginia, giving him an account of his persecutions and sufferings; in reply to which Gen. Mason proposed that, inasmuch as those sufferings were in the common cause of republicanism, and the fine was the only part of them in which others could participate, that should be paid by a common subscription among the enemies of political persecution. The money, however,

was not forthcoming, and as the expiration of his imprisonment approached. Lyon, unable to procure funds in any other way, purchased a grant of a lottery, and issued proposals for the sale of tickets, offering as the prizes, houses, lands, and other property, which he wished to dispose of. The experiment was successful, and he realized all that he needed for the payment of his fine and costs, and a surplus of $3,000.

His term of imprisonment expired Feb. 9th, 1799, at 8 A. M. In the meantime, he had been re-elected to Congress. His principal competitors, at that election, were Dr. Samuel Williams and Daniel Chipman. At the trial, in September, 1798, he lacked 26 votes of an election, (Lyon, 3,482; Williams, 1,544; Chipman, 1,370; Abel Spencer, 268; Israel Smith, 226; Seat, 99;) but, at a second attempt, he was elected by a majority of more than 500. His enemies had made preparations to have him re-arrested, as soon as he was discharged from jail; but no sooner had the Marshal opened the prison doors, and announced to him that he was free, than he shouted, "I am on my way to Philadelphia," and, stepping out, started at once on his journey. Congress had been in session some months, and his privilege as a member, secured him from arrest on mesne process.

His release was the occasion of great joy to his adherents, and his journey towards Philadelphia was a triumphal march. A great concourse of people accompanied him on his way, with the American flag at the head of the procession; and as they passed along, the inhabitants of the towns on the line of march assembled numerously to greet him. Even children partook of the spirit of the occasion. As he passed a schoolhouse, in Tinmouth, the children were paraded at the road-side, and one of them offered the following sentiment: "This day satisfies federal vengeance. Our brave representative, who has been suffering for us under an unjust sentence, and the tyranny of a detested understrapper of despotism, this day rises superior to despotism." Following this with three cheers for "The Victory of Liberty," they retired. On his arrival at Bennington, he was welcomed by a large assemblage of republicans, who greeted him with cheers, original songs, and a formal address, to which he briefly responded, and then pursued his journey.

He took his seat in Congress on the 20th of February, and on the same day, R. G. Harper offered a resolution for his expulsion, on the

ground that he had been "convicted of being a malicious and seditious person, of a depraved mind, and wicked and diabolical disposition, guilty of public libels against the President with intent to bring the government of the United States into contempt." This was carried by a vote of 49 to 45, but the two-thirds rule protected him in his seat

During Lyon's last term in Congress, occurred the protracted contest, in the House of Representatives, which resulted in Jefferson's election to the Presidency, and Lyon had the satisfaction of casting the vote that terminated the struggle. Jefferson and Burr having each the same number of electoral votes, the duty of making an election was devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States. The Federalists had a decided majority of members, but could not command a majority of States; nor could their opponents do any better. On the first ballot, and for many successive ballotings, eight States voted for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two, Vermont and Maryland, were equally divided. Lewis R. Morris, Lyon's colleague in the House, voted for Burr, and Lyon himself for Jefferson. The public mind was in the highest degree agitated with the contest. The House remained in session, without formal adjournment, for seven successive days; and the excitement, both in and out of the House, rose to such a height as to render it absolutely necessary to the public welfare that the controversy should be ended, in one way or another. The Federalists, becoming convinced that it was impossible to elect Burr, reluctantly decided to allow Jefferson to be chosen. It was arranged that Mr. Morris should absent himself from the next balloting, which he accordingly did, and Lyon cast the vote of Vermont for Jefferson, given him the ninth State, that was needed to secure his election. He took considerable credit to himself for this vote; and it is said that, on a subsequent occasion, when some disagreement between himself and Jefferson took place, he exclaimed, with an oath, "I made him, and I can unmake him!"

When his term in Congress expired, he did not deem it expedient to return to Vermont to reside. So much of his time had been devoted to politics, that his business, once thriving and profitable, had run down, and he was on the verge of bankruptcy, if not actually insolvent. His enemies, moreover, were lying in wait for him with suits and prosecutions, which, whether finally

successful or not, would be a sore annoyance during their continuance. He therefore made a tour to the West and South, in search of a new home, passing through Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the North West Territory, and every where receiving marked civilities, public and private. He selected what is now Eddyville, in Lyon County, Kentucky, as the place of his future residence. Here, he removed a part of his family with some other Vermont families, which he had persuaded to emigrate, and commenced building the town; which having fairly started, he brought out the rest of his family and a number of other families. He engaged in business and politics, with his usual ardor. He established the first printing office in Kentucky, transporting the type, on horseback, across the Alleghanies. He engaged in merchandise and ship building, but in nothing so successfully as in politics. In 1802, he was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky, and in 1803 or 4, to the Congress of the United States, where he retained a seat, by repeated re-elections, till 1810. He was an active and influential member, and did his full share in dispatching business.

In 1812, he contracted, with the United States Government, to build certain sloops and gun-boats, for use in the war then pending. His ship-yard was on the Cumberland River, down which, and the Mississippi, the vessels were dispatched, to be delivered at New Orleans. Some of them were wrecked on the way, and the rest were not delivered within the contract time, so that the speculation proved disastrous. His other business had also suffered, through his devotion to politics, and he was, at length, obliged to make an assignment of his property, for the benefit of his creditors. His son, Chittenden Lyon, was the assignee, and he not only performed his duties as such with the strictest integrity, but advanced not less than $28,000, (at that time, a large sum,) from his own resources, to supply the deficiency of his father's assets, in order that no reproach of unfulfilled pecuniary obligations might rest upon the family.

In 1820, Lyon applied to Congress for a refunding of the money he had paid, as fine and costs, on his prosecution, under the sedition law, and a compensation for his loss of time in jail, and detention from his seat in Congress, for 123 days. After some

delay, he succeeded in obtaining a committee's report in favor of compensating him for his pecuniary loss; but the report was not adopted by Congress, and it was not till 1833, several years after his death, that the fine and costs were refunded to his heirs.

About the year 1820, he procured, from Mr. Monroe's Administration, an appointment as Factor of the United States with the Cherokee Indians, in Arkansas. That territory was then unorganized; but not long after he entered on his duties as Factor, an organization took place, and he was elected the first delegate to Congress. He did not live, however, to take his seat under that election. His death occurred on the 1st of August, 1822, at Spadre Bluff, on the Arkansas River, near Little Rock, in the 76th year of his age. Nine years after, his remains were conveyed to Eddyville, and re-interred among his kindred.

His son, Chittenden Lyon, was one of the most popular and honored men in Kentucky. He was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky, as the representative of some who desired to erect a part of Cumberland County into a new county. In this movement he was successful, and the new county was named for him: Lyon County. Having served acceptably in both branches of the State Legislature, he was elected to Congress, where he held a seat for eight years, ending March, 1836. He then voluntarily retired from public service, and died in 1842, at the age of 56.

The distinguishing traits in Matthew Lyon's character were boldness, energy, perseverance, and a resolute will. No undertaking was too hazardous for him to enter upon, no obstacle too great for him to encounter, no delay long enough to weary him out. From every defeat he rose, like Antæus from the mother-earth, strengthened for another trial. Once having fixed his eye upon an object to be acquired, he never lost sight of it. The prize at which he aimed might repeadly elude his grasp, but he pursued it none the less steadily and persistently. His success was remarkable, when we consider his lowly origin, and the hindrances he every where had to meet.

What were Lyon's abilities as a speaker, it is not easy to determine, save that he was a ready and frequent debater. The reports of his speeches, which come down to us, are too brief and fragmentary to form the basis of an opinion as to their merits.

Of his abilities as a writer, there is more abundant evidence. The extant productions of his pen are quite numerous, and show him to be master of a good English style, clear, racy, and idiomatic. He held the pen of a ready writer, and was fond of using it. If occasion required, and it seemed to require quite often, he could handle the weapons of invective almost as murderously as Junius. His letters to John Adams, to William Duane, and to Elias Curtis, are worth reading by all who wish to know the full powers of the English language. His addresses to his constituents, at various times, will also repay perusal. There are frequent sentences in them which have the terseness and pungency of epigrams. He was never lavish in the use of words, but gave his readers an idea in every sentence.

The career of Lyon furnishes another illustration of the value of republican institutions. In no other country but this, could the poor Irish boy, leaving home without a penny, and sold to pay his passage money, have risen to such positions and maintained himself so well in them. There were discreditable circumstances, it is true, in his life. In whose life are there not some? They were occasioned, for the most part, by infirmities which were incident to his national character, and aggravated by the savage opposition he so often had to encounter. That, in spite of those circumstances, he succeeded so well, is to be set to the credit of our free institutions; institutions which we, more favorably circumstanced than he, ought to prize all the more highly, because to all persons, however differently situated, unfortunate or prosperous, Irish or American, low-born or high-born, they offer alike a home, a field for usefulness, and an opportunity to gain distinction.

THE MARBLES OF VERMONT.

AN ADDRESS

PRONOUNCED OCTOBER 29, 1858,

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN THE PRESENCE OF

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VERMONT;

BY

ALBERT D. HAGER.

Published by Order of the General Assembly.

BURLINGTON:
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THE MARBLES OF VERMONT.

Mr. President :—

When I call to mind the fact, that the Vermont Historical Society has heretofore, had for its Speakers, some of the greatest, the best, and the most talented sons of Vermont, and when I reflect upon my own inexperience as a public speaker, and appear before you, while yet the eloquent oration * of last evening is fresh in your minds, as well as the highly interesting address just delivered, † I can, under these circumstances, but fee lembarrassed, and there arises within me a lurking fear that I shall fail to discharge the duties incumbent on me in a manner creditable to myself, or satisfactory and acceptable to this intelligent audience. But inasmuch as you have manifested your confidence in my ability, by inviting me to address you, and appearing before me this evening, I shall enter upon the performance of my task, craving your indulgence while I present a few matter-of-fact statements in relation to the marbles of Vermont, and call your attention to the beautiful specimens which the proprietors of quarries have kindly furnished me, for the State Cabinet.

The Marbles of Vermont may be divided into six distinct classes; viz: the Verd Antique, or Roxbury Marble; the Dove Colored, or Swanton; the Isle La Mott; the Variegated, of Plymouth; the Winooski and Mosaic of Colchester, and the Vermont Marble. Each of these, and especially the latter, present almost an infinite variety, varying in color, structure and composition, but retaining the peculiar characteristics of its class.

* Hon. Edward Everett's Oration on the Life and Character of Washington.

† By Rev. P. H. White.

I shall speak of each class separately, and lest I may tire the patience of the audience, shall be very brief in my remarks.

The "Verd Antique Marble,*" so called, will first claim our attention. Properly speaking this is a Serpentine or an Ophiolite, and not a marble; for all marbles are limestone, but all limestones are not marble, the difference consisting in this: those limestones that occur in extensive beds, from which large blocks can be obtained,—free from stratification seams—open or close joints or "cuts,"—and also free from impurities, in the form of slate, quartz, or spar, and susceptible of receiving a polish, are called marbles; but where they are cut up with numerous joints, or seams, or have a broken or slaty structure, so as to be obtained only in fragmentary masses, they are called limestones.

The Serpentine of Roxbury and Cavendish, shows, by an analysis, as determined by Dr. A. A. Hayes, of Boston, that no lime enters into its composition but it is composed of Silica (43.34,) Magnesia (39.55), Protoxyde of Iron (5.32) and Water (11.79), and combined in such proportions as to render it one of the most indestructible rocks in nature. The Verd Antique of the ancients, and that of Europe, which in Germany and Spain is now wrought into table tops, mantles, pillars, pilasters, &c., has in its composition ten per cent. or more, of carbonate of Lime, which renders it softer and more easily worked, but when placed in exposed situations it is less durable then the Serpentine of Vermont. It is quite abundant in the State, and outcrops of it are generally found in the Eastern limits of the talcose slate, extending from Massachusetts to Canada; and it often forms the dividing line between the talcose and mica slate formations.

It is near this line that the gold of Vermont is found. Wherever the talcose slate is found east of the Serpentine (or Soapstone, which is generally associated with it,) gold is usually found, but seldom if ever in workable quantity, except there be a deep eroded valley in the immediate vicinity, with an open slate rock at the bottom, for a "bed rock," in the cavities of which the gold is found.

Two quarries of Serpentine have been opened and worked in the State—one at Cavendish and one at Roxbury; but in consequence of the great expense of quarrying and working it,—the difficulty in sell-

* Cubic blocks of Serpentine from the quarry at Roxbury, and a slab from the Cavendish quarry, were exhibited.

ing it for remunerative prices,—want of sufficient capital,—bad management, or from some other cause, both quarries are now abandoned.

It is to be hoped, however, that a greater demand for the article will soon be created, and such advances made in the arts as to enable men to work the Serpentine with the same ease and facility that common white marble is now worked, when both quarries, and perhaps others in the State, will again be opened and successfully wrought.

Many beautiful specimens have been sent abroad, from the works at Roxbury and Proctorsville, among which may be noticed the block, forming the base of the Franklin Statue, in Boston, Mass. This block was sent from Roxbury, and will be looked upon and admired by thousands, and if suffered to remain unmolested by the hand of man, will effectually resist the corroding influence of atmospheric agencies, and will remain as long as the American people delight to honor the name of Franklin.

The Dove colored Marble of Swanton is a very compact and fine grained limestone, being composed of nearly 95 per cent. of carbonate of Lime.*

It has only been quarried at Swanton, for a marble, but in several places it is used for burning into quicklime, as at Colchester, Winooski Falls, &c., and for a quicklime it is equal to any thing in the State.

I will remark, in this connection, that in order to secure good material for quicklime, nothing must be used but rock that is of a compact and close grained structure; for it is found that the coarse grained marbles, that often have 98 per cent. of carbonate of lime, make but a poor ashy colored quicklime, while a compact rock, that has not more than 60 per cent. of the carbonate of lime, will often make a good white quicklime; hence, as much seems to depend upon the structure as the composition of the material used.

The color and fineness of the Swanton Marble seem to fit it admirably for the purpose of floor tiling. When used alternately with the Isle La Motte, or Black marble, it makes one of the best floor pavements that can be produced. Some varieties of it, as that found at

* Analysis of Swanton Marble: Carbonate of Lime (94.66), Carbonate of Magnesia (0.23), Alumina and Iron (1.09), Insoluble matter—mostly Silica (2.39), Water and loss (1.63). *Olmstead.*

Whiting, are admirably suited to the purpose of being used as an ornamental marble, for table tops, &c., it being traversed by stripes and concretionary masses, of what seems to be a variety of red jasper. The great obstacle presented in working this variety of marble is the occurence of numerous "cuts," and close joints, which are generally very numerous, and often prove a serious drawback, where large sound blocks are desired.

The Isle La Motte marble * is found in the Champlain valley and was the first marble ever worked in the State. It derives its name from the Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain, where several quarries are now successfully wrought, some of which were opened prior to the Revolutionary War.

It is nearly black, of a compact structure, and is susceptible of receiving a good polish. When sawed, it makes an excellent marble for floor tiling, and specimens of it may be seen in the public edifices, and costly mansions, of the principal cities of our Union.

The facility with which it can be quarried, and the ease with which it can be split and wrought into blocks, render it valuable for the purposes of a building stone, and in the construction of abutments and piers for bridges. At the Fiske quarry alone, on Isle La Motte, there are this year quarried about 240,000 cubic feet of this stone, which is mainly used in constructing piers for the "Victoria Bridge," at Montreal. †

This marble is found on many of the islands of Lake Champlain, and upon its banks in several places.

A quarry was opened in 1851, and worked for a time at Larabee's Point, by the Shoreham Marble Co., but it is now abandoned.—Button Harbor Island, West of Ferrisburgh, is mainly composed of the Isle La Motte marble, of excellent quality.

It has never been used at this place as a marble, but is extensively quarried by some of the proprietors of Iron Works, in Essex County, N. Y., for a flux, to be used in their iron furnaces.

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* Composition of La Motte marble: Carbonate of Lime (87.94). Carbonate of Magnesia (4.56). Alumina and Iron (2.60). Insoluble matter, mostly Silica (4.80). Water and loss (0.10)—and a trace of protoxide of Manganese. *Olmstead.*

† Last year 243,000 cubic feet were quarried and 4-5 hamered into blocks, —the two preceding years, they sent off 520,000 cubic feet, employing from 60 to 100 men.

Immediately on the top of the Isle La Motte marble at this place, there is a stratum, 22 inches thick, of what is called the "Black River Limestone," being principally composed of a fossil coral (the columnaria sulcata and columnaria alveolata,) which, if sawed and finished, would produce one of the finest fossil marbles extant. This fossil* is usually called a petrified hornets nest, or honey comb, from the strong resemblance that the pentagonal columns have to the cells of the comb of a bee or wasp. Large and sound blocks of this fossil marble could easily be procured at this island, and be transported by water to market.

The Brecciated or Variegated Marble, of Plymouth, † seems to be of a distinct class, and by analysis, as determined by T. Sterry Hunt, Esq., is found to be a dolomite, composed of carbonate of Lime (53.9), carbonate of Magnesia (44.7), Oxide of Iron and Alumina (1.3).

Unlike most dolomites, this marble resists the action of atmospheric agencies in a remarkable degree, and is durable when exposed to the weather.

It is susceptible of a high polish, and were it a foreign production, would doubtless be highly prized as an ornamental marble.

It occurs in the talcose slate formation, near the center of the town of Plymouth, at an elevation of about 250 feet above Plymouth Pond, and is well situated for drainage, and about six miles from the Railroad Station. This quarry was opened about 25 years ago, and was worked for a while; but as white marbles were in demand, to the exclusion of all others, at that time, the enterprise was abandoned, and the quarry has been used since, only for the purpose of obtaining material for the manufacture of quicklime. Having in its composition less than 54 per cent. of carbonate of lime, still being of a compact structure, it produces, when burned, a nice quicklime, known in the market as the "Plymouth White Lime."

Could some enterprising man now engage in the business of quarrying and working this marble, success would doubtless attend his efforts; for the marble is sound, the formation extensive, the

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* Specimens of the coral limestone were exhibited.

† Specimens were exhibited which had been presented to the State, by Isaac A. Brown, Esq., of Proctorsville.

quantity inexhaustible, and the facilities for quarrying are unsurpassed by any in the State.

The Winooski and Mosaic Marbles are evidently of the same formation, possessing the same general characteristics, but differing somewhat in their composition and structure.

The Mosaic, so called from its resemblance to artificial Mosaic work, is found near Burlington. Like the Winooski, it usually has a reddish color, and for many purposes it must be regarded as a very beautiful marble for ornamental work. Upon examination, it is found to be principally composed of fragments, varying in size from a barley corn to blocks a foot or more in diameter, which appear to have been promiscuously piled together, after which they were cemented with a substance having much more lime in its composition than the fragments themselves.

This cement, too, has a lighter color than the other portions of the mass, which gives it the beautiful sparry and variegated appearance which is observed in the Mosaic Marble.

It equals in beauty the artificial Mosaic work of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and it is equally interesting to the man of thought, when he looks upon that marble, and contemplates the changes that must have been wrought upon the crust of the earth, to thus reduce to fragments, and collect together again, such masses of the shivered rocks.

The angles of the fragments are seldom rounded, which proves that they were not transported far by water, but remained in a quiet state, in tranquil water charged with a calcareous substance, which, upon being deposited, filled the cavities, and converted the whole again into a solid mass.

The Winooski Marble* is more extensively distributed than the Mosaic, being found to extend from Canada line to Sudbury, but in no place is it so well developed as at Mallett's Head, in Colchester.

The strata at this point are nearly horizontal, and in many places form the bank of the lake. One of the best quarries is so situated that a vessel can be brought up alongside, and loaded

* The speaker here exhibited fifteen specimens of the Winooski Marble in cubic blocks, which had been presented to the State, to be placed in the State collection, by Hon. David Read, of Winooski Falls.

with blocks, with as much ease as they are usually loaded upon carts or cars at inland quarries. The marble occurs in beds, or strata, varying in thickness from one to six feet, and being a good marble to split across the bed, or *grain*, blocks of any required size can very readily be obtained.

The marble is susceptible of a high polish, and will resist, in a remarkable degree, the corroding influence of atmospheric agencies. Its composition, as determined by an analysis by C. H. Hitchcock, Chemist of our Geological Survey, is, carbonate of lime (35.31), carbonate of Magnesia (42.23), Silica (10.30), Alumina and Iron (12.25).

Like the serpentine, and the variegated, of Plymouth, this marble is hard to be worked, and consequently, when polished, is hard to deface by scratches or acids, and this fact of its hardness should attach to it additional value.

Its color seems to admirably fit it to the purpose of ornamental work, for pier and centre tables, and no marble can excel it in beauty or durability. The rich colors of the Rosewood or Mahogany frames, do not exceed, in beauty or variety, those to be found in a slab of the Winooski Marble. A few openings have been made in Colchester, but quarries have never been extensively wrought; but with the increased facilities that are likely to be presented for working hard marbles, the Winooski and Mosaic will not be neglected, but will doubtless be successfully worked, and yield a rich reward to those so fortunate as to own a quarry.

The most extensively developed, and thus far the most profitably worked, marble of Vermont, is that found in the so called Stockbridge Limestone formation, and which bears the name of Vermont Marble. Of this marble there is a great number of varieties. They are usually nearly pure carbonate of lime, and *white* is the prevailing color.

This formation is found on the West side of the Green Mountains, and extends nearly the entire length of the State. The most profitable quarries, yet worked, are found in the Counties of Rutland and Bennington.

It generally occurs in strata, varying in number from two to twenty-five, placed one above another, with seams between them, corresponding with the planes of stratification.

At these seams, called by quarrymen "floor beds," "bed seams," or "riving seams," the strata are readily parted, by inserting wedges, after channels are cut around the block to be removed. The channeling is done with drills, made for that purpose, and from two to ten square feet per day is a day's work for a quarryman, the amount varying with the hardness of the marble, and the skill of the workman. In some quarries, the riving seams are a stratum of very fissile slate, an inch or more in thickness, and often so much disintegrated that an open space occurs between the beds, in which case channeling is unnecessary, as large blocks can easily be split off by drilling holes and using riving wedges.

As a general thing, the riving seams are open at the surface, but upon penetrating the quarry, they grow closer, and often nearly disappear, and render the labor of removing large blocks more difficult and expensive; but the proprietors are amply remunerated, in finding the marble correspondingly more compact and of better quality, as the quarry is penetrated.

The strata of marble vary in thickness from eight inches to six or eight feet,—the thickest beds being usually found where the marble is coarse grained and friable. From observations made, it is quite apparent, that the marble beds thin out, as they approach the North from Dorset, where the thickest beds in the State are found. In tracing the beds to the North, it is also found, that the marble is finer grained and more compact, than at the points farther South on the same beds.

From the statistics obtained at twenty quarries, where there were employed 989 men in quarrying, it appears that there were quarried, last year, 3,063,240 feet of Vermont marble, which if sawed into slabs, would cover more than seventy acres with marble two inches thick.

There are in the State 27 mills, with 176 gangs of saws, where there are annually sawed 1,788,000 feet of marble, or enough to cover 41 acres with sawed marble.

At these mills there are employed 312 men, which, added to the number engaged in quarrying, shows that more than 1300 men were employed, last year, in this leading enterprise in our State. The sad reverses which have fallen with such heavy hand upon

the manufacturing and industrial interests of our country, have reached the marble dealers, in some cases, and compelled them to curtail the amount of help this year, as the demand for marble has not been as great as heretofore. But as business again revives, the marble quarries will again resound with the musical click of the quarryman's drill, and the proprietors will again reap the rich reward which they so justly deserve for their energy and perseverance.

While the proprietors of *good* quarries are amply compensated for their investment, there are those who have expended thousands of dollars in opening quarries that were completely worthless; and it may not be amiss to give some of the practical hints, that are presented in nature, to guide men in opening quarries.

In selecting a marble quarry care should be taken to secure one where there is a sufficient quantity of *sound* marble, so situated as to be accessible and easily drained if possible.

In order to form an opinion of the *soundness* of the marble, the adjacent rocks should be examined, and if they give evidence that there has been such disturbance among them as to cause a shattered structure, the chances are against a good workable quarry; but where the marble strata are well walled in, with sound rock, there is quite sure to be a corresponding soundness of the marble.

Good marble, of the softer varieties, is rarely found within twenty-five feet of the surface, hence the *dip* of the strata should be so great as to carry the beds *into* the ground beyond the influence of atmospheric agencies, unless the opening be made in the side of a hill, where the strata may be horizontal, as they will be protected by the over-lying rock and soil that form the elevation.

Several attempts have been made in Vermont to open quarries where there was a slight dip—not enough to take the bed deep into the earth—but in every case the effort has been attended with failure. A stratum of fine white marble may be found at the surface of the ground, lying horizontal, but it will be unsound in consequence of its exposure, and if it is removed by blasting, or otherwise, the stratum next below it may be marble of an inferior quality, or it *may* be a silicious limestone, or something else. Unless the edges of the strata can be seen, there is no certainty

in quarrying, and he who expends much money in blasting out rock that lies in horizontal beds, on level land, expecting to find marble that was never seen, must be a man with "large hope," and too visionary to ever succeed in business. Fruitless attempts have also been made to obtain sound marble near trap dikes.

Dikes are veins, or intruded masses of matter, in the rents or fissures of rocks, and differing essentially in composition from the rocks adjacent.

They are called "black streaks," or "ore veins," by marble workers, in consequence of their black and semi-metallic appearance.

They are often met with in Western Vermont, and vary in size from one-fourth of an inch to twenty feet in thickness, and often may be traced to the distance of a mile in length. They always prove injurious, and oftentimes ruinous, to marble quarries that they have penetrated. The marble is much more shattered and jointed near them than elsewhere, and there is this peculiarity about the joints: —they are usually parallel to the side of the dike. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain a sound block of marble near a dike, and yet, strange as it may appear, many of the quarries opened forty years ago were by the side of one. Even within ten years, attempts have been made to blast out, and remove, the unsound rock, hoping to get deep enough into the earth to find it sound; but when it is known that the marble is jointed when near the dike, and that the origin of the dike is deep-seated, like the lava of an extinct volcano, how futile must be the attempt to get below its influence! As well might man attempt to remove the basaltic lava of Vesuvius! Before concluding these remarks, I will present a few facts in relation to the *position* of the marble, and its relation to the other rocks.

It is found that the strata on the South end of Dorset Mountain are nearly horizontal, and this is assumed to be their original position. The base of the mountain is composed of a silicious rock, known to geologists as a granular quartz rock or sandstone; and immediately above this, and reposing on it, is a silicious Limestone, the strata varying in color, structure and composition, generally containing more lime and less silica as it recedes from the quartz rock.

At the height of about 1263 feet above the village of East Dorset, the valuable quarry known as the "Vermont Italian Marble Quarry" is found, reposing on a silicious or magnesian limestone. This marble is not a pure carbonate of lime, but it contains so much silica as to render it hard to work; but the hardness, which may be objectionable to those who finish it, adds additional value to it, especially where it is to be placed in exposed situations.

The strata here, as I remarked, are nearly horizontal, and the quarry now worked has a thickness of about 47 feet of marble. [The speaker exhibited cubic specimens, 4 inches across, which had been furnished him by Messrs. Holley, Fields & Kent, of East Dorset, and to give the audience an idea of the beds, enumerated the name and thickness of each as follows, commencing at the bottom of the quarry, to wit :—

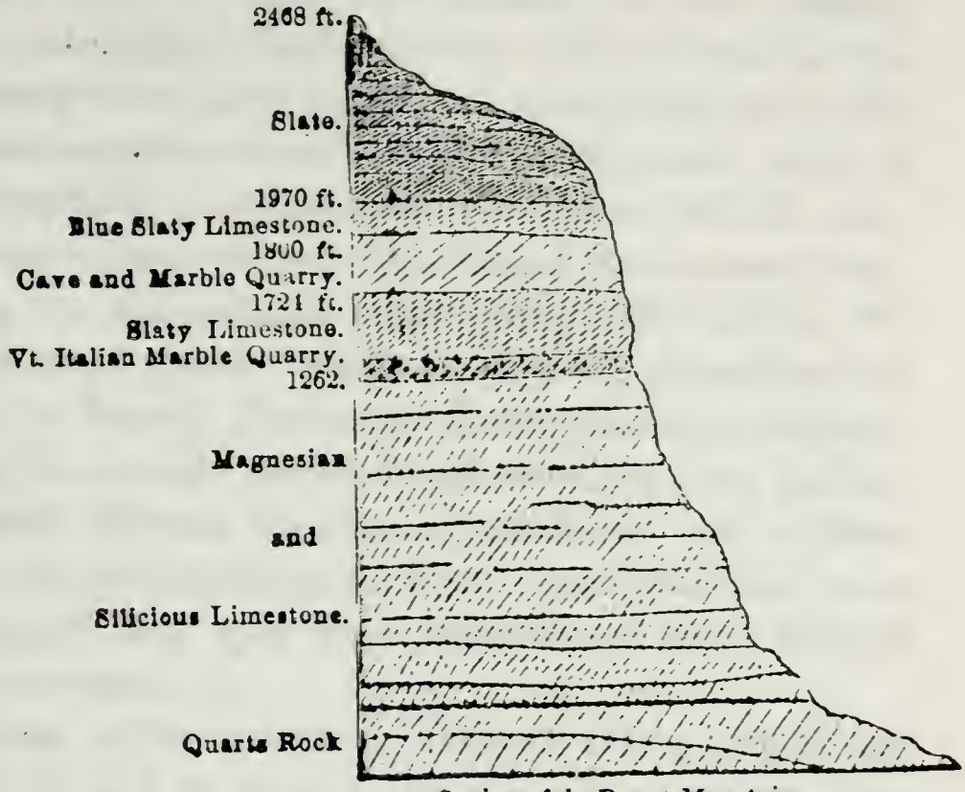
1st. Lower Birds Eye....	16 inches.	9th, Upper Dye.....	22 inches.
2nd. Cast Iron Tier.....	14 "	10th. Fine White Tier....	20 "
3rd. Shale Tier.....	20 "	11th. Upper Shale.....	5 feet.
4th. Lower Dye.....	4 feet.	12th. Leopard Tier.....	5 "
5th. Striped Tier.....	3½ "	13th. Upper Birds Eye...	4 "
6th. Cross Grained Tier..	3 "	14th. Striped Tier ...	2 "
7th. Sheet Tier.....	15 inches.		
8th. Thick White.....	20 "		

The 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th tiers have, in all a thickness of 9 feet, and afford only a second quality of marble, generally striped.]

Immediately over this quarry there is a slaty formation of limestone, about 400 feet thick, upon which rests a coarse friable white marble, which forty years ago was quarried quite extensively at this place, and called the cave quarry, it being near a cave which is found on that mountain at an elevation of 1750 feet. This white marble formation has a thickness of about 100 feet, on top of which rests a blue limestone of about the same thickness. Upon this blue limestone, at an elevation of 1970 feet, a slate occurs, with concretionary masses of quartz in it, and extends to the top of the mountain which is 2468 feet high. [See "Section of Dorset Mountain," on next page.]

There are many places in Vermont where this order of occurrence is observed, but in no place is it more apparent than in Tinmouth, about one half mile South of the center of the town, where precisely the same order of rocks occur as at Dorset mountain, but instead of being in a horizontal position, those on the West side of Furnace Brook valley dip to the West at an angle of about 40

degrees, while those on the East side dip to the East at about the same angle, as represented by the diagram:



Section of the Dorset Mountain,

Section across Furnace Brook Vally, half a mile South of Tinmouth centre, and ten miles North of Dorset Mountain.

The line of fracture that exists between the rocks dipping East and West, can be traced about ten miles, through Tinmouth and Clarendon, being nearly on a line with Tinmouth or Chipman's Pond and the centre of the valley. The members of the series, commencing at the bottom are, quartz or sandstone, then silicious and

magnesian limestones,—then the white marbles, upon which occur the blue limestones, after which are found the slate forming the high ridges of the mountains on the West of the valley.

I will remark, that the beds corresponding to, and identical with, those of the Italian Marble Quarry, were not seen, but the rocks immediately above, and all those below, *did* occur, and in the same order that they were found upon Dorset Mountain; hence it appears but reasonable to suppose that the Italian beds *do* occur in Tinmouth, and in the South part of Clarendon, but are now hidden from view, by the accumulation of over-lying drift and soil. (*)

Did time permit, I would attempt to show the connection that exists between the Dorset, Danby and Rutland marbles, and describe minutely the several quarries found at these places, and the qualities of their different varieties of marble, as well as those found in Brandon and elsewhere; but I am admonished that I have already trespassed long upon your patience, and hence, will not enter upon those topics. (†)

The reputation of the Brandon, Rutland, Danby and Dorset marbles, is fixed, and it would be idle to add a word in their praise. (††)

As the son of Vermont goes abroad, well may he be proud that he is a Vermonter. He learns that his little State enjoys the enviable reputation of producing the best Horses and Sheep in the country, the most intelligent and persevering men and women in the world; and also, that the greatest variety, and the best marble in the market, is from old Vermont.

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* Since the above was written, G. M. Noble, M. D., the worthy representative from Tinmouth, having had his attention called to these facts, made an examination, during the recess of the Legislature, and actually found the bed of Italian Marble alluded to, and obtained a specimen of the marble, which was exhibited to the audience at the time this paper was read.

† I have been requested by several gentlemen to show, in this paper, the relation that exists between the Rutland, Danby and Dorset marbles, and also to give in detail a full history of the excellent varieties found in those places.

As it would necessarily require several diagrams to illustrate the various points, and a long explanation to accompany the same, I decline doing so, but send the paper as originally written, reserving the other facts, to be digested and embodied in the Final Report of the Geology of the State, by Prof. Hitchcock, our able and worthy State Geologist. A. D. H.

† † Specimens were exhibited from the quarries of Messrs. Sheldons & Slason, of West Rutland. J. Adair & Brother, of South Wallingford. E. D. Selden, Esq., of Brandon, Sutherland Falls Marble Co., of Sutherland's Falls, and Messrs. O. & A. D. Canfield, of Arlington.

We have many valuable beds in the State, that never have been worked,—principally varieties of the ornamental marble.

While we should strive by our acts to have the white and spotless marble, which is sent abroad, truly emblematic of the purity of our character and institutions, should we not also lend a helping hand to develope and bring forth the latent resources of the State, and use all lawful means to aid those who generously make the effort?

Should we not, for ornamental marbles, use our own, and by *example* try to exclude all others?

Were it not for raising a political question, I would enquire why there should not be greater duties charged upon imported blocks of marble—so as to enable our dealers to send their stock as far as New Orleans, and sell it as cheap as that from Italy?

Is it *necessary* to send abroad for the Egyptian marble, when we have such an abundance of beautiful black marble in our own State? Why send to the Pope's dominions for marble, when we have an article at Sutherland's Falls and Dorset, in many respects superior to the Italian? Why bring in the Sienna, when it can be obtained at Sudbury and elsewhere? Why the Brocatella, when the Winooski and other marbles are in every respect superior to it? And why the fine Florence or Carara marble, when the same thing can be obtained, in perfection, at Brandon and Rutland, and from the unopened quarries of Shelburne?

Let us encourage home industry, and use the products of our own State.

In the erection of public edifices and private dwellings, we should take occasion to use home products. Were the Architect and Superintendent, in finishing the Senate Chamber and Representatives Hall of our new State House, to use some of the new and untried varieties of Vermont marble, in the construction of the desks, tables, pillars and pilasters, I think it would be far more appropriate than to send abroad to obtain Mahogany from fillibustering Nicaragua or Yucatan. New varieties of marble would thus be brought before the world, and persons from abroad, where such choice varieties are not to be found, would forward orders for them, and thus in many cases the ledges which now disfigure our fields, would become sources of wealth to the proprietors, to the State, and to the nation.

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Secession in Switzerland

AND IN THE

UNITED STATES

COMPARED;

BEING THE

ANNUAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED OCT. 20TH, 1863, BEFORE THE

Vermont State Historical Society,

IN THE

HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES,

CAPITOL,

MONTPELIER,

BY

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

CATSKILL
JOSEPH JOESBURY, PRINTER, "JOURNAL OFFICE."
1864.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER,

Major, 1845; Colonel, 1846; Brig. Gen., 1851, N. Y. S. M.; Adj't Gen., 1855, S. N. Y. Member of the Netherlandish Literary Association (*Maatschappij der Nederlandshe Letterkunde*) at Leyden, Holland; Member of the New York and Pennsylvania Historical Societies; Life Member of the Historical Society of Michigan; Corresponding Member of the State Historical Societies of Wisconsin and Vermont, and of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Military Agent, S. N. Y., 1851-'3.

AUTHOR OF

Reports—1st, on the Organizations of the National Guards and Municipal Military Institutions of Europe, and the Artillery and Arms best adapted to the State Service, 1852; (Reprinted by order of the N. Y. State Legislature, Senate Documents, No. 74, March 26, 1853;) 2d, Organizations of the English and Swiss Militia, the French, Swiss, and Prussian Fire Departments; Suggestions for the Organization of the N. Y. S. Militia, &c., &c., 1853.

Life of (the Swedish) *Field Marshal*, Leonard Torstenson, (rewarded by Three splendid Silver Medals, &c., by H. R. M., Oscar, King of Sweden) 1855;

Winter Campaigns, 1862;

Practical Strategy, as illustrated by the Life and Achievements of a Master of the Art, the Austrian Field Marshal, Traun, 1863;

Address to the Officers of the New York State Troops, 1858;

The Dutch at the North Pole, and the Dutch in Maine, 1857.

Appendix to the Dutch at the North Pole, &c., 1858;

Carausius, the Dutch Augustus and Emperor of Britain and the Menapii, &c., 1858;

The Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Netherlanders, 1859;

&c., &c., &c., &c., &c.

———:o:———

Gross Errata, requiring Correction.

Mere Typographical Errors not noted.

Reverse of Title Page.—The Copyright Certificate should read "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1863, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York."

Page 16, line 13, for "Graian Alps," read "Grecian Alps (*Alpes Graiæ*)."

" 25, " 10, for "Harper's" read "Harper's."

" 25, " 22, for "*alone* should a have worship *culte*," read "*alone* should have a worship (*Culte*)."

" 40, " 6, after "neutrals" insert "Alison, devoted to the interests of the aristocracy and biased by his political prejudices, furnishes a slightly different numerical proportion. I invite the attention of my hearers to a comparison of his manifest partiality for the Ultramontanists."

SECESSION IN SWITZERLAND.

"The drum was beat; and. lo!
The plough, the workshop is forsaken, all
Swarm to the old familiar long loved banners."

"What? shall this 'land' become a field of slaughter,
And brother-killing Discord, fire-eyed,
Be let loose through its 'vales' to roam and rage?
Shall the decision be deliver'd over
To deaf remorseless Rage, that hears no leader?
Here is not room for battle, only for butchery.
Well, let it be! I have long thought of it,
So let it burst then!"

SCHILLER'S DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN.

History is the School of Princes. It is their duty to derive Instruction therefrom In regard to the Errors of Times Past, in order to avoid them; to understand that they must form for themselves a System; to learn to follow that out step by step; and to know that the Ruler, who has calculated his course of conduct the most wisely, is the only one who can get the better of those who act less in accordance with the lesson than he.

FREDERIC THE GREAT.

The History of Foreign Nations is only interesting to us on account of its relations (analogies) with our own, or of the great achievements, whose performance is recorded therein.

VOLTAIRE.

A student of history, not satisfied with mere superficial examination but ever urged to a closer and closer comparison of analogies, I have often been struck with the perspicuity of every sentiment of Jewry's wisest monarch.—The PREACHER-KING seems to have exhausted the subtleties of human nature and reduced them to axioms in *Ecclesiastes*. When he declared that everything was vanity and vexation of spirit; that there had been, was, and would be nothing new under the sun; that the greatest services must expect nothing but ingratitude from individuals or communities; he was merely reducing to

philosophical sententiousness what JOB, 1227 years before, had experienced, and what 2860 years have demonstrated as unalterable. Human means change, just as the *row-galley* has been succeeded by the *steamboat*, and the *mangonel*, by the *cannon*;—human objects never:—

> "Men change with fortune, Manners change with climes,"
> "Tenets with books and Principles with times."—

nevertheless men's ends are always the same. The progress of human events advances, rolling on in circles, which may have been typified by the wheels—

> ——"Wheel within wheel undrawn,
> Itself instinct with spirit"

which EZEKIEL saw in his magnificent vision upon the plains of *Chebar*. In accordance with this immutable law of progression, those who have read closely and reflected deeply will see that the events that have occurred in this, our, country are nothing new, but have had their parallels in the Free Governments of Ancient Times, in the Republics of the Middle Ages, in the federal career of the United Provinces of Holland, and, very especially, in the history of the Swiss Confederation. In the case of the last, the similitude is so wonderful that all whose attention has been called to the subject; have remarked and noted, almost in the same words, many successive, astonishing points of resemblance. Before entering however upon the particular parallel in history, one pertinent consideration should never be forgotten. Wherever a free government, invited or permitted foreign interference, that government was overthrown. The MONROE DOCTRINE is nothing more than a recognition of this immutable law, and, if energetically applied, it is an antidote to the poison of foreign intervention in the affairs of this, our continent; ours by the law of nature, ours by the force of arms, as

soon as victorious over treason we can give due attention to the intrusion of foreign enemies.

The minds of our youth have not been sufficiently directed to the study of history, *especially the history of foreign commonwealths.* The Rules and Axioms deducible from the Records of Nations, applied with common sense, can be relied with the same security as *Experience.* Republics however must learn from Republics. Any attempts to draw parallels between Republics and Monarchies will lead to fallacious results.

At the present time there is, besides the United States, but one real republic in the world. Nominal republics have arisen in abundance in the course of man's history, but the Federation of the Swiss cantons is the only one worthy to be named alongside of the great American experiment. The Spanish-American commonwealths are little better than anarchies. Of the three *quasi* European republics that existed before the French Revolution, all were extinguished by the arms of the first Napoleon.—Switzerland, however, still remains to bear witness on the Continent to the principles of self-government and the inextinguishable spirit of liberty.

The failure of former republics or commonwealths, and the occasional license or sporadic excesses of liberal institutions, should neither discourage nor disgust thinking men.

"Liberty," says Macaulay "resembles the Fairy of Ariosto who, by some mysterious law of her nature, was condemned to appear at certain seasons in the form of a foul and poisonous snake. Those who injured her during the period of her disguise, were forever excluded from participation in the blessings which she bestowed. But to those who, in spite of her loathsome aspect, pitied and protected her, she afterwards revealed herself in the beau-

tiful and celestial form which was natural to her, accompanied their steps, granted all their wishes, filled their houses with wealth, made them happy in love, and victorious in war. Such a Spirit is LIBERTY. At times she takes the form of a hateful reptile. She grovels, she hisses, she stings. But woe to those who in disgust shall venture to crush her! And happy are those who, having dared to receive her in her degraded and frightful shape, shall at length be rewarded by her in the time of her beauty and her glory."

"There is only one cure for the evils which new acquired freedom produces—and that cure is freedom!"

Again, hear to him!—

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim? *If Men are to wait for Liberty till they become wise and good in Slavery, they may indeed wait forever.*"

Of the three European Republics, *Holland*, *Venice* and *Genoa*, destroyed by the great NAPOLEON, that modern Attila, the fate of the first, *Holland*, is most sad to contemplate.

It would be wise for the people of these United States to reflect upon the results of partisan spirit and intestine conflicts in a country, which, while it occupied an almost imperceptible space upon an ordinary map of the world, but *while it was yet* TRUE *to itself*, exercised the influence of a power of the first class, and like the diminutive-bodied but powerful *polypus*, embraced and held fast the richest and remotest regions in the tenacious grasp of its Briarian arms.

Hollands armor of proof was torn open by the violence of her own political factions to receive the foreign thrust which deprived her of existence as a republic.

It is painful even to read what exactions Holland suffered, at the hands of those who styled themselves her Emancipators. The result was, that a Commonwealth, which had planted its victorious banners, amid the roar of artillery, within the Arctic circle, when it fought the English off Spitzbergen; which had blanched the cheeks of London with the broadsides of its triumphant navy, master of the Thames; which had founded a NEW *Amsterdam* on this continent, a POLAR *Amsterdam* in *East Greenland*, now *Spitzbergen*, and a JAVANESE *Amsterdam* in the spice producing East; which had kept the "*Feast of Kings*" in *Nova Zembla*; which had dotted the globe with its discoveries and acquisitions; which had heaped a whole town *La Cidade* or *Pavoassan*, as a monument, upon the grave of a beloved admiral, under the equator; which had governed a modern empire, Brazil, as a dependent colony; which had chastised the Barbary Corsairs while still a terror to the mightiest monarchies; which had held at bay the armies, and vanquished the united fleets of France and Britain; fell from her place of pride and from a mighty republic, the arbitress of Europe, sunk into a third rate monarchy. From her misfortune, DAVIES, the elegant historian of the Dutch nation, deduces the following lesson—a lesson which should be thundered in the ears of our people in the public squares, and impressed upon their minds in the private circle—a lesson pregnant with significance to every American at this terrible epoch.

"From her place of pride, among nations, *Holland* has now fallen; and in the history of her fall, may be read a useful, though melancholy lesson to every free and com-

mercial people, to be on the watch lest *they mistake the heat of party spirit, for the zeal of patriotism:* and lest *they seek for national wealth as the* END, *and not as the* MEANS, *of national greatness.*"

Holland's catastrophe is but one additional proof that the disease, fatal to republics, never had its origin in extraneous causes, although the mortal blow may have been eventually given from without.

Some free states have perished like fruit, prematurely ripe, or ripe out of season, just as HUSS, SAVANAROLA, and other Reformers suffered at the stake, because they were in *advance* of the age in which they lived, while ZWINGLI, LUTHER and CALVIN survived to see their doctrines flourish having taken the times at the turn of the tide, or at the flood. From the failure of foreign and former republics, men have argued, that freedom in government is incompatible with human existence, in great aggregations and developments, even as a congeries or family of confederated republics. Switzerland has solved the problem on a small scale. The United States is now solving a similar problem on a grand scale. Woe to mankind, if we, the latter, fail to do our Duty.

The Swiss Republic, in one respect, that is in their determined rejection of foreign interference in their domestic affairs, presented a perfect contrast to the Dutch. The result is, Switzerland exists in honored independence. Holland on the other hand, submitted to foreign intervention, and shorn of her liberty, subsists in comparative subservience.

The Swiss absolutely refused, at any risk and at all times, to permit the slightest interference on the part of foreign governments, and when in 1847 they had established their blockade or *cordon*, they actually prohibited to foreign agents, all access to their rebel districts. And

while they were ready to mass their troops, to put down sedition at home, they were equally ready to mass their troops upon their frontiers, to prevent intervention from abroad. As an evidence to what exertions this patriotic spirit incited the people consider the case of the canton of *Vaud.* This canton has a population of 204,000 in an area of 1185 square miles. Taking the usual ratio her regular contingent, permanently maintained, should not exceed 5,000 men, and her males capable of bearing arms, between 20 and 60, not over 50,000 men, for home service and under the most favorable circumstances. Nevertheless, Oct. 2d, 1846, the same year that the SONDERBUND promulgated their treasonable designs, this canton had nearly 20,000 men, belonging to the different services, armed and equipped according to regulation. Besides these, the authorities had organized 16 Battalions of "Hommes du Depot," garrison troops between 17 and 20 years of age, (each 500 strong,) and 8 battalions of Volunteers, between the ages of 45 and 60, estimated as high as 6,000 in all: Total 34,000. The same proportion would give us 3,000,000 of soldiers under arms, while the ability to bear the burthen can scarcely be brought into comparison.

This proves that in whatever other respect the Swiss may have retrograded, they have not degenerated in patriotism. Mrs. STRUTT, in her charming volumes, entitled "A Domestic Residence in Switzerland," observes that "Nature certainly only meant the Swiss for two classes, soldiers and shepherds." "Attached *alike to Liberty and to Arms*, the slightest appearance of infringement upon their freedom, throws them simultaneously into a posture of defence."

"The great tie that holds the Swiss cantons together is the neutrality they observe, with respect to other nations;

and the *common cause they make of* ANY *attack upon themselves.*"

"'Another admirable trait of *essential union* among the Swiss, is the willing and ready CHARITY with which they minister to each others wants, in times of calamity,' 'with a liberality that well illustrates the truth of a remark, which all who have studied mankind must have made, that it is always the habitually frugal, who are capable of the most generous actions."

"Seek not the Swiss in cultured plains,
Or towns, or beaten paths among,
Where modish strangers idly throng,
And luxury taints, and avarice stains:
'Tis where primeval nature reigns,
Mid lonely toil and simple song,
Secure alike from crime and wrong,
He uncorrupt and true remains;
'Mid the murmurings of his fountains,
And the echoes of his mountains,
Where the lordly eagle soars,
Where the headlong torrent roars,
He is, as he was meant to be,
Poor and virtuous, calm and FREE."

The prodigious effort of the little Canton of *Vaud* just alluded to, leads to the consideration of what would seem to be a want of sense of patriotic duty, in many of our own people.

Through the ill judged interference of rich communities or associations, the administration is not deriving the expected reinforcements from the draft just concluded.—That so many citizens are unwilling to fight out, with their own arms, the great battle of freedom, but are willing to confide it to another race, and hireling hands, is unworthy of a free people, and teeming with mischief, if no remedy is at hand and applicable.

I particularly allude to the organization of a disproportionate army of blacks. Their undue augmentation is pregnant with evil, if not restricted within reasonable

limits. Not that I am opposed to negro regiments. Far from it, since I believe that I was the first, in print, to suggest their organization. But I am opposed to a negro army outnumbering that composed of whites. *Carthage*, *Venice*, *Holland*, relied upon mercenaries to maintain their polity within, extend their area without, and fight even for their independence. Rome's *mobilized militia* burned *Carthage;* the *native* armies of France seized *Venice*, and handed her over to *Austria* as a prey; and *Holland*, dictated to by *Prussia* and *England*, (the latter as false to the *United Provinces*, as she has proved to the *United States*,) stooped her free neck to the yoke of royalty; stooped it to be abased a second time, and plundered in 1830–'1, *despite their own solemn guarantees*, by *England* and *France*, just as *England* and *France* would like to dismember, plunder and humiliate us. The rough edge of the work may be taken off by our black auxiliaries, but the finishing touches must be put on by ourselves, by our white brethren.

Thus by the consideration of a succession of introductory suggestions, having an important bearing on the subject, I have reached in order the main object of my Address.

It is remarkable that Switzerland, a few years ago, was called upon to pass through a crisis very similar to that through which the United States is now passing. As a Federation it is composed of Cantons of quite dissimilar religious faith and social tendencies. Some of them are Protestants and others are Romanists, and the political jealousies which arise are apt to be intensified, if we may use the expression, by the antagonism of a deep religious rancor. On most questions, however, the Federal Diet would move along evenly enough if these causes of difference were not worked upon and fomented by dextrous, unre-

lenting and bigoted bodies of men, particularly by that known as the Jesuits. In political cunning, recklessness and energy, they are not unlike the southern disunion leaders; and they are like them, again, in the fact that for many years they were constant plotters of Secession.—They were always striving to arouse the prejudices of the Romanist cantons, until they should formally declare their separation from the others and from the general union.

Nor were foreign influences wanting to aggravate the internal difficulties. The Pope afforded aid by intrigues, carried on through his Nuncios, who incited the ignorant mass. The secession party comprised the whole of that part of the population which, dwelling in wild and mountain districts, had not been affected by the improvements of the age. They resembled in these respects the great mass of the southern secessionists, who live apart from the civilizing influences of commerce and intellectual pursuits. Austria helped also, not by mere hints, but open threats of intervention. She supplied arms, ammunition, and even officers. The staff of the secessionists was chiefly composed of foreign officers. France, likewise, smuggled arms and ordnance stores into the disaffected districts.—All the governments with despotic tendencies, in fact, either openly or secretly supported the secessionists.—Even constitutional governments, with the exception of England, gave the national party the cold shoulder. Thus abetted, a Sonderbund, as it was called, assembled for deliberation in May, 1846, and promulgated their Secessionist Confederacy.

Members of the Vermont Historical Society and Citizens of the famed Green Mountain State, Descendants of the Green Mountain Boys who distinguished themselves by their stern determination and intrepid enterprise in the times which tried men's souls, I shall

endeavor, upon this occasion, to show you how another people, Sons of the Mountains, met the question of *Secession*. They met it as I have no doubt you would have met it, as all RURAL *New England* and RURAL *New York* would have met it, had they stood alone, fair and square, face to face, even as previous generations in the same districts asserted their rights on the fields of BENNINGTON and ORISKANY, STILLWATER (Bemus' Heights) and SARATOGA (Wilbur's Basin).

Before entering into any examination of historical occurrences, or of military operations which have taken place in Switzerland, a few remarks are pertinent to correct a popular error in regard to the defensibleness, *per se*, of that country, and, in fact, of any country presenting a similar physical aspect such as *Western Virginia*, *Tennessee* and *Georgia*. The plains of Italy and the levels of the Low Countries have been scarcely more fought over than the diversities and alternations of Switzerland. ZSCHOKKE, a German by birth but a Swiss by election, in his history of his adopted country, remarks that in its wars of the last 500 years, but particularly those growing out of the *great French Revolution*, "battle field touched battle field;" that "horse and man (contending) passed over the mountain tops, which the chamois hunter alone had reached before;" that "in the valleys and on the summits of the mountains, on the lakes and above the clouds, the French and Austrians fought."

Surrounded by powerful, ambitious, and military monarchies, Switzerland for centuries has been the "Valley of Decision," and the iron-heel of war has left its mark upon her snowy wastes, her vine clad slopes, her sunny valleys, and her romantic lake and river shores. From the summit of every Alp, deemed accessible, seventy years since, to man, to the bottom of her defiles, there is scarcely a

district that has not been drenched with the blood of native and of foreign soldiery, recruited from almost every known region of Europe, Asia and northern Africa.

According to the hypothetical strategy of the newspapers and of the masses, positions in mountain ranges and mountainous countries, militarily occupied, are considered impregnable. Whereas it is a military axiom, established by the experience of all ages, that he who is master of the valleys is master of the mountains, for, although the mountains may not be susceptible of successful *direct* attack, they may be paralyzed by the cutting off of communications and conquered by blockade and famine.—This is indisputable except, in some rare cases, where mountain districts contain, or produce, within themselves supplies of ammunition, food and forage.*

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this is Frederic the Great's operations against the impregnable Camp of Refuge at Pirna, in Saxony, in 1756. Master of the communications and victorious over the Austrian army,

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* This remarkable fact, so seldom considered,—that the possession or mastership of the valleys determines the fate of mountains,—indicates the Rents or Gaches in the apparently invulnerable armor of an Alpine land. Through the Gaps by which the torrent finds escape, the enemy finds entrance. They offer to the invader breaches through which his columns can advance against the Penetralia of Liberty. Even as the treacherous arrow of the Trojan Adulterer, Paris, found its way, through the undipped heel, to the life of the otherwise invulnerable Achilles, even so the enemy finds access, by its Passes or Cols (depressions of the mountain crest lines into the interior of an elevated country), not only in arms but with the more fatal lures of trade and the blandishments of luxury.

The very Configuration of Switzerland and the disposition of its natural ramparts indicate, upon the map, the breaches through which its enemies have forced their way. It is least defensible towards the North and North-East. From those quarters the majority of the invasions have occurred. Happily for the Confederation its lofty barren mountains inclose luxuriant vineyards, meads and fields, furnishing vast supplies for men and cattle. On the other hand the Protestants of Languedoc, who held at bay for years the vast power of Louis XIV, occupied a territory resembling Switzerland in its capabilities for defence, but not analogous in its interior features of productiveness. The War of the Cevennes demonstrated what a determined Few, although unprepared, can achieve, for a time, against the Many provided with all sufficient means. There is a period, however, to all such efforts which is beyond the control of any WILL, however resolute. As long as they had

seeking to relieve the Saxon forces, he compelled the latter to surrender at discretion, in about 37 days. Nevertheless Pirna, *per se*, was impregnable. We will see that the same rule has always held good with regard to SWITZERLAND, and that, throughout the history of the Confederation, its fate has not been decided on its rugged Alps or in its mountain Thermopylæ's, but in its gladsome valleys, those depressions which give access to the interior of the country, and are traversed by the main routes between the capitals or chief towns of the Cantons.

Strange it is, but still as true as strange, the ARTS OF WAR and the ARTS OF PEACE are subject to the same immutable laws of progress. WATER, WEALTH and WAR seek the same channels for their fertilizing streams or devastating floods. They equally shun the rugged heights and seek the fertile plains, for they are mutually dependent. Battle fields invariably occur in localities which have the same relations to the Operations of War which towns or the sites of great fairs bear to the tides of Travel and Commerce. The result is that as Holland opposed dykes of granite, oak and concrete to the inroads of the

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the means to support life, the Camisards of JOHN CAVALIER continued masters of their mountain fastnesses, and proved victorious against astonishing odds of men and material. When at length want obliged them to descend into the plains in search of supplies, they were overwhelmed by the disciplined masses of their royalist persecutors. Decimated through the efforts and effects of their own valor, they were at length compelled to retreat. Close upon them followed death and desolation, for the King's forces laid everything in ruins and ashes as they advanced. Thus a desert closed in upon the Huguenot heroes like the iron walls of the Italian tyrant's daily diminishing dungeon, until, at last, all within the encompassing and converging columns of the invader was crushed into submissive formlessness in respect to rights or religion and to individual or general security. SCHAMYL, in like manner, as the Protestants of the Cevennes, found his Circassian strongholds assailed by Russian armed floods surging up through the Circassian valleys which opened to the lowlands and to the sea, commanded by the Czaric fleets.

Just so, the Deluges of Asiatic barbarism which overwhelmed Eastern and Central Europe followed the levels of the rivers, and burst in upon Christianity and Civilization through the depressions of the border ranges, through which Commerce had found lines of communication, proving that the Traffic and Strife, both bearing with them good and evil, in very unequal proportions however, tread the same tracks either to bless or blast.

ocean, so Switzerland dammed her valleys against the invasions of multitudinous enemies with ranks of *iron* men, so that it might be said of HELVETIA as of the SPARTA of AGESILAUS and the SWEDEN of the VASAS, "She did not defend her men with walls, but her walls with her men."

Although the swarthy crisp-haired veterans of HANNIBAL picked and fought their way through the icy terrors of Mount Genevre (or the Little St. Bernard?);—

Although the Emperor MAJORIAN, sounding the depths of the drifts with the staff of his lance, indicated, in midwinter, the track for the march of his legions, fresh from battling with the savage Moors and Vandals, across the Graian Alps, to the conquest of Gaul, Spain and Africa;—

Although FRANCIS I. tunneled the Monte Viso, far under its perpetual snow, deeming the very rocks less impervious than the ranks of their WALDENSIAN defenders, on his way to that "Combat of Giants," Marignano;—

Although the veteran FREUNDSBERG threaded the horrible snow depths and yawning ravines of the Val Sabbia, at the head of that "Army of Vengeance" which repaid itself, with the accumulated gold of papal jubilees, for the spiritual tyranny and humiliations which Germany had experienced at the hands of the Popes;—

Although PRINCE EUGENE transported "in a fearful and marvellous march," with the help of mechanical contrivances, his infantry, cavalry, and even artillery, through the frightful Val Suga and Val Fredda, hitherto deemed inaccessible, to rescue his patrial Savoy from the closing grasp of the French spoiler;—

Although the Muscovites, under the barbarian SUWARROW, trampled the eternal snow of the St. Gothard and replaced the Devil's Bridge with trunks of trees lashed together with his officers' military sashes;—

Although the Gallic demi-brigades of NAPOLEON trod into slush the everlasting snow of the Great St. Bernard, hurrying forward to his greatest victory, Marengo ;—

Although the exhilarating music of MACDONALD's military bands excited his French divisions to charge the falling avalanches of the Splugen as if they had been columns of mortal adversaries ;—

Although I say from the days of the *Carthaginian Arch-strategist* to those of the Conqueror of *Solferino*, horse, foot, elephants, cannon and military equipages have fought their way, across the Alps, to victory, by the tracks of the hunter and the paths of the goat-herd ;—

Although cavalry and artillery have charged upon fields of ice, *above the clouds*, and answered, amid the mingled wreaths of vapor and powder-smoke, the electric batteries of nature with their batteries of human invention ;—yet

The fate of Switzerland has not been decided in her elevated mountain passes and upon her hoary Alps, but in her smiling valleys and along the shores of those lakes, which were alive with a semi-aquatic population, living in huts elevated on piles above their waters, anterior to the age of bronze and iron, and while her mountains were yet devoid of inhabitants.

In *one* respect, however, mountainous countries are impregnable. Territories, like those of the Swiss, are inexpugnable in the race of men which grow up amid the sublimity of their scenery. "Solitude," says the philosophic prose-poet, Dora d'Istria, "is the mother of great ideas." We add, Sublimity is certainly their father in minds susceptible of quickening.

The mountain race, endowed with vigorous minds in healthy bodies, seems everywhere gifted with an indomitable resolution, as rugged and flinty as the rocks

they have to climb and labor among in the pursuit of their livelihood.

Moreover, just as we recognize an elevated region by its sturdy growth of peculiar timber, whether stunted or lofty, alike in their power of resisting the tempest, and by its hardy plants, characterized by their intense tenacity of life, just so a mountainous country is indicated by a sturdy, courageous, athletic, well developed or close knit population of liberty-loving, patriotic men.

During the American Revolution it was the mountaineers of Eastern Tennessee, South-Eastern Kentucky, and Western North, and South, Carolina, who stemmed the tide of British conquest in the Southern provinces, although led by its ablest and boldest partisan, bull-dog FERGUSON. When the South Carolinian oligarchic chivalry and its aristocracy, rich in human chattels, had entirely succumbed, it was the energy, sagacity and self reliance of the *Mountain Men*, accustomed to manual labor and exercised in their contests with savage beasts and still more savage men, which restored affairs and even hope, by their unexpected success, upon the bloodiest scene of Southern battle, the ever memorable *Kings Mountain*.

Just so, in this very State, Gentlemen, *New Hampshire* and *Vermont* troops, under the simple but intrepid Stark, ratified at *Bennington*, the great fundamental principle of government, that neither the Green Mountain region, nor any other region, should be the home of any but free-men. The same spirit inspired the rough but patriotic ALLEN, when he laid his iron grasp upon Ticonderoga "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The same spirit, with its impulse as potential as the shrill note of the Abyssinian trumpet, styled the *Cry of the*

Eagle, whose electric effect is dwelt upon by the traveller BRUCE, as marvellous to witness, aroused Vermont to arms at the commencement of the pending contest.

The Voice of the same Spirit, resounding through the Green Mountains, as irresistibly as the appeal of the *Mountain Horn* or *Bull of Uri*, whose terrible roar resembled the bellowing of the enraged *Urus*, and of the hoarse *Land Horn* of *Unterwalden*,—whose signals struck terror to the enemies of Switzerland who had experienced their effects,—summoned together, and urged forth, under such leaders as JOHN WOLCOTT PHELPS, a magnificent array, exceeding in numbers the proportionate quota of your State, small in area and population, however great in virtues, a contingent, far more excessive in the quality of its soldiers, to fight the great fight of freedom, upon the soil, which the treason of a slavocrat-oligarchy sought to usurp and subject to the fatal influences of slavery,—hoping to build, there, upon the ruins of our free institutions, an aristocracy based upon their ownership in man.

Even as your lovely state is intersected by fertile valleys, watered by such beautiful streams as the WINOOSKI, MISSISQUI, and WHITE River, whose banks afford easy transit to the iron horse dragging long trains, freighted with the spoils of commerce and of agriculture, even so Switzerland is cleft and checkered by connecting depressions, the basins of its chains of lakes, gleaming like diamonds or sapphires amid the cloud-crowned mountains, snow-capped peaks, elevations robed in ever verdant foliage, and glaciers spectral in their ice, when not glorious, like Iris, in the sunshine.

It is these very velvet pastures and rich meadows, bathed by the Swiss lakes and their tributaries, so dear to the tourist, the agriculturist and the herdsman, which have

afforded fields of manœuvre and battle to the chivalry of the invaders, seeking to enslave their possessors. Upon such slopes and meadows, most of the Swiss battles of their wars of independence have been decided. Such depressions, alone, have offered stages for the vast conflicts, which have occurred from time to time, during the last 600 years, whence the thundering antagonism of the artillery, reverberating through the encompassing mountains, have jarred loose the dreadful avalanches to respond with the still more terrible echo of their fall, to the roar of the contending hosts below.

* * * * * * *

In the progress of our consideration of this subject—*Swiss Secession*—it appears to me that this would be the proper time, before proceeding farther, or entering upon the narrative of actual hostilities, to trace out the origin of the difficulty by a brief examination of the History of the *Helvetian Republic.*

The *Swiss Confederation*, born, 1291, in the *Association of the Three Forest Cantons*, on the *Lake of Lucerne*, grew, in 1352, to *Eight* by gradual aggregations. Baptised in blood and fire, to use a military expression, it already constituted, in the XIVth Century, a strong family of small republics.

These had gained over Austria a series of victories, whose parallels cannot be found in history. Still, although it had vanquished the empire, its arch enemy without, it could not overcome enemies almost as dangerous, although not so apparent, within; the blemishes, cruelties and vices of its interior administration. The tyranny of oligarchs had been permitted to succeed that of feudalism. Spiritual foundations still held the fortunes, rights, and what was far worse, the minds of their subjects in the fetters of superstition and ignorance. The

terrible yoke of caste hung heavily upon the population, and nothing but the discipline, as it were, of a frontier post, exposed to the danger of attack at any moment, kept the different populations of *Freedom's Citadel*, in Central Europe, from flying at each other's throats upon the least occasion. The exciting cause of disunion has ever been the same as that which lately stirred up Swiss SECESSION,—the intrigues of the Church of Rome, of its allies, of its affiliations and of its dependencies, in a word the ULTRAMONTANE OR REACTIONIST PARTY, not inaptly represented, in this country, by the SLAVOCRATS and their abettors.

In 1444, France succeeded Austria as the antagonist of Freedom and of the Cantons, and met with such a bloody reception at St. Jacob on the Birs, on the very threshold of the confederation, that, thenceforward, until her own great Revolution, the French rulers were willing rather to *buy* the amity than to *provoke* the enmity of the Swiss.

Unwilling or incapable of profiting by the experience of the astute LOUIS XI, his opponent, CHARLES *the* RASH of BURGUNDY, determined to try *his* hand at oppressing Switzerland. Burgundy, although a feudal duchy, was, yet, at that time, a kingdom in power and influence, although its sovereign wore only a ducal coronet. Moreover, the army with its train of artillery and equipages, which, twice renewed and twice entirely ruined, CHARLES poured over the Jura into what was then the Canton of BERNE, would be termed magnificent even at the present day. Two defeats, so marvellous and overwhelming, that nothing but the more recent routs of ROSBACH, LEUTHEN, JENA, the annihilation of the whole French expedition to MOSCOW, WATERLOO and NOVARA, could justify belief in the disasters which shipwrecked the

fame, the power and the armies of *Burgundy*. A third victory, NANCY, in 1477, cost the magnificent CHARLES his life.

At this period of triumph, in 1481, SOLEURE and FREYBURG, contrasts in their after political conduct, were admitted into the Confederation as the ninth and tenth Cantons.

Despots and kings, and, in fact, political administrations of every texture, never appear to learn wisdom from the past. To impose the Austrian yoke, upon the TEN Cantons, which his ancestors could not impose upon THREE, or upon FOUR, or upon EIGHT, the German Emperor took the field in person.

Defeated by the Swiss in not less than eight battles in the course of as many months, MAXIMILIAN resolved upon peace. He had lost over twenty thousand men and seen nearly two thousand towns, villages and castles laid in ashes to satisfy his ambitious attempts upon liberty.—Peace accordingly was concluded at BASLE, September 22d, 1499. Thus ended the *Suabian*, the last war of Swiss independence. These wars had dragged out through two hundred and one years. The American Wars of Independence, if we consider, as many do, the War of the Revolution as the First or Inceptive, and the War of 1812 as the Second or Decisive, forty-five years. The first blood shed in the American Revolution, was not in King's Street, Boston, March 5th, 1770, nor at Lexington, *April* 19th 1775, but on GOLDEN HILL, in John Street, in New York City, January 18th 1770, preceding by two months, the first New England martyrdom for liberty. The last conflict to establish our *complete* independence of Great Britain was at NEW ORLEANS, January 8th, 1815.

The first struggle of the Swiss Revolution was on the DONNERBUHL (Thunder Hill) and in the *Jammerthal* (Vale of Tears), appropriate names, in 1298; the last victory at DORNACH in 1499. It must be conceded the Swiss had a harder fight, against greater odds, for their Freedom, than we, Americans, for ours. What is acquired with great difficulty is highly esteemed. The Swiss have maintained their freedom and consolidated their unity. Will we emulate their example?

From that Treaty of BASLE dates, properly speaking, the complete independence of Switzerland, which then ceased to be subjected to the sovereignty of the empire—a state of things which was sanctioned by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

The French War, of 1444, had been a mere August thunder shower, fierce enough, however, while it lasted; the Burgundian War, of 1475-'6-'7, a succession of tornadoes; the Suabian War, 1499, was a regular, furious storm, but the Cantons sustained the violence of all three as the Alps meet the *Fahn* and the *Bise*, two furious winds peculiar to Switzerland, whose blasts accomplish nothing but to purify the air.

In 1501, BASLE and SCHAFFHAUSEN were admitted as the eleventh and twelfth, and in 1515, APPENZELL as the last Canton necessary to complete the list of the *first Thirteen*, exactly the number of the British Provinces which transmuted themselves into the original THIRTEEN United States.

Of these *Thirteen* three were *Aristo-Democratic*. The first of these was ZURICH, afterwards the home of liberal ideas and the cradle of the Reformation. In consideration of the wealth and importance of the City of Zurich, the others yielded to it the first place in order of rank,

and it has ever since borne the title, although it long since lost the prerogative, of the first Canton of the Helvetic body. This privilege, however, gave Zurich no superiority over the rest, but merely constituted it as a central point, where all the affairs, which concerned the whole confederation, were transacted; its deputies had also for a time the precedency in the general diets.

Of the other two, the most important, BASLE, was then what it proved in the last Swiss Secession War, neither cold nor hot, as we shall see hereafter, looking only, like all commercial emporiums, to its own selfish interests.

Of the four Aristocratic Cantons, BERNE was subsequently, 1798—1803, divided into four, and afterwards became one of the most Liberal or *Democratic*, perhaps, for the same reason, that SAMSON became weak. *Her* extensive dependencies, like *his* long locks, the sources of her strength, having been shorn off by the very reactionary power, whose influences adverse to Liberty, had laid her to sleep.

Two others, LUCERNE and FREYBURG, have always been the enemies of progress, and completely in the hands of those whose interests it was to keep the people bigoted and ignorant. In 1782, Freyburg was the *closest aristocracy* or rather *oligarchy* in all Switzerland, and one of the most bigoted. Latterly, it scarcely ceded to *Lucerne* in that regard.

The fourth, SOLEURE, situated in the valley of the *Aar*, has been liberalized in a measure by the commerce and travel, foreign especially, flowing through it.

The six *Democratic* Cantons hardly exceeded in area or population either of the *Aristocratic;* in wealth there was no comparison. Jealous of their own liberties, they had little respect for the liberties of others where those

liberties conflicted with their own political prejudices and religious bigotry. This always led them to become members of each successive Secession League—(for every secession League was formed to arrest Liberality in Sentiment and Politics,)—and become the Associates of Coalitions with Despotic tendencies. It is singular that the rule which governs unions between parties, the most dissimilar in their habits and feelings, but identical in apparent interests, holds good not only in private life, in marriages, but in public life, in national alliances. Witness our own predilections for the Russian government, the most despotic in Europe, while yet we were on the closest terms of amity with *England*, and in numerous other instances. Even autocratic Romanist France was preferred to constitutional Protestant Great Britain.

Besides these, there were subject *Bailiwicks*, and *Confederate States*, known as *Socii*, *Associates* or *Allies*, subsequently, from time to time, embraced within the limits of the present twenty two Cantons. Three *Aristo-Democratic*, four *Aristocratic* and six *Democratic* Cantons constituted this Alliance, rather than actual Confederation of Thirteen States, which bound together by a general alliance, were still not, in all cases, allied to each other. Incongruous as it was in many respects, it lasted nevertheless, with modifications, but no essential changes down to the end of the XVIIIth Century. From 1516 to 1718, from the time when Zwingli commenced to preach the gospel, when as yet the name of Luther had never been heard of in Alpine districts,—that is from the inception of the Reformation in Switzerland, down to the religious Peace of Aarau,—was a period of continual intestine struggles, excited and instigated by the same religious jealousies, oppressions and antipathies; demons which have only

been laid by the magic of the sword within six years.

From the PEACE OF AARAU, in 1712, (which is generally credited to 1718, since the Abbot of St. Gall did not accede to it until six years after its agreement,) down to 1798, the Cantons enjoyed the blessings of seventy nine years of comparative repose. In the winter of 1797–'8, the French troops invaded the Cantons. This year, 1798, Lavater styled the first year of Swiss Slavery, which may be said to have lasted fifteen to seventeen years. In 1798, the old confederate bond was loosed by the French. It had stood the strain of four hundred and ninety years; in seventy four days it was now dissolved.

The cantons which composed the first Association of the XIIIth Century contained the germs of future difficulties, similar to those which existed in a dormant state within our own confederation from its inception. These seeds of discord were sufficiently apparent in the country to occasion more prophecies of our present contest than those emitted by LORD COLERAINE and by BURKE, within a few years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In Switzerland the remnant of abuses, privileges oppressions, as old as the organization of its primitive government, had a great deal to do with Secession, but in both countries, which it has cursed, the object was the same—*the aggrandizement of a governing caste* of aristocratic and spiritual oligarchs at the expense of their fellow men. In Switzerland, as in America, a dominant class sought to impose their yoke not only upon matter but upon mind.

Although SECESSION, visibly, dates back only to CALHOUN, in 1832, when it bore the title of NULLIFICATION, it nevertheless existed, as a latent idea, in the shape of STATE RIGHTS in the minds of many of those who signed the first Act of our Confederation. Just so in Switzer-

land. The Reformation was Anti-Slavery in *intent*; the dominant church then Pro-Slavery in *effect*. The result was a SONDERBUND or Secession spirit, which like some chronic diseases, assumed more or less violent phases under mitigating or aggravating circumstances. The exciting cause in the Sonderbund cantons, the seat of the difficulty or the organ affected, was never radically cured, although the remedies applied were sufficiently active or effectual to restrain the disease within certain limits. Finally foreign influence, like malarious air, against which ZWINGLI boldly sounded the alarm, developed the latent sentiment into contagious virulence.

Meanwhile, neglect on the part of the *family physician* the FEDERAL DIET, permitted the difficulty to gain such a head that the cure required a medicine, (artillery pills, and bayonet lancets,) so violent in itself, that had the applications failed to effect a prompt cure, the practice would have destroyed the life of the *patient*, the *Swiss Confederation*.

Still another brief recapitulation of some events appears necessary at this time to make this question or analogy more intelligible. SECESSION, in Switzerland, was no more a *new* idea in 1846–'47 than it was in the United States, in 1860–'61. In 1528, the Legislature of Berne issued an Edict of Religious Reformation, in Thirteen Articles, founded on a truly Evangelical basis. This spiritual reform had just the same effect then, as the politico-spiritual ameliorations of the present century, particularly those called for between 1840 and 1847.—The Bernese regulations, conceived in a spirit of justice, charity and liberality, gave rise, in the November of the same year, to the LEAGUE OF THE VALAIS, or SONDERBUND of the five Romanist Cantons and the confederate State of the VALAIS for the defence of the

Romanist faith. FREYBURG joined the league afterwards. In this SEPARATE LEAGUE we have the identical *Sonderbund* of 1847, excited by the very same causes, and influenced by the same objects. What renders the resemblance more striking is, that just as the hereditary enemy of Switzerland, FERDINAND of *Austria*, was admitted as a member of the Alliance of 1528, just so *Austria* was the power and Austrian princes the agents on which the treasonable alliance of 1846-'7 especially relied for material support. "This alliance startled the other Cantons. Alarm filled men's minds. They sung the personal complaint everywhere:—

> "Wail Helvetians, Wail,
> For the Peacock's plume of Pride
> To the Forest Canton's savage Bull
> In Friendship is allied."

To parry the effects of this Separate League, ZURICH and BERNE and other Reformed districts entered into what they called a CHRISTIAN CO-BURGHERSHIP, in 1529, to which *Schaffhausen* and *Basle* virtually acceded, in the following year, 1530. Three Cantons, divided within themselves, remained more or less neutral. In the array of parties, and in the condition of affairs in the XVIth Century, we have a perfect type of what occurred in the XIXth. The same antagonism has occurred with a greater or less resemblance more than once since between those eras, but in 1530, Switzerland presented a perfect picture of the *Status* of Romanism and Retrograde Tendencies, of Protestantism and Liberal Progression, and of selfish Neutrality, in exactly the same proportions, as occurred three hundred and seventeen years later.

The first great French revolution which did so much harm, accomplished, nevertheless, an immense deal of good. The decree of the French Directory declaring that the Swiss Confederation had ceased to exist, and organ-

izing Switzerland into a single republic with a central government, was not without its beneficial effects. The French revolution commenced that process of amalgamation, which the triumph over Secession in 1847 carried another step forward. It crushed Switzerland into something like a nationality which was a comparative blessing. It swept away castes and privileges, and substituted its own great despotism for the petty tyrannies previously existing. It failed because it lacked the true religious element, that is the religious element of the Bible, as many who watched its operations predicted, on account of that very omission, that it would fail.

"You may call a Republic of Unbelievers free, but that republican form confers no Liberty ; it may give scope to Licentiousness, but it can confer no Liberty. The land in which the mass rules is not a free land ; that is the Home of Freedom where Truth rules. That is no *true* Democracy in which all are on a level merely ; the *true* democracy is that in which all are Brothers—some elder, some younger, but all helping one another. *A democracy is impossible on any other than Christian principles.*"

Can any one deny that the masses in Europe are not better off to-day than they were before the French Revolution? No sensible unprejudiced men would dare to do so. The outrages upon humanity then daily practiced by a dominant aristocracy and spiritual hierarchy are heard of no more. There are no more public or legalized tortures, there are no more dragonades, there are no more judicial murders like that of Calas, at *Toulouse*, except in districts where the mind is still subjected to that yoke and frenzied by that goad, which brought about Swiss Secession, a spirit twin to that which occasioned our own Rebellion. We shudder at the wrongs inflicted upon our slaves. But if we are to believe Vulliemin and other

authentic historians of Switzerland, the yoke of the negro was in the majority of cases lighter than that imposed by a dominant clergy and aristocracy upon their fellow whites. They speak of executions preceded by tortures which terrified the imagination, of mutilations and injustice worthy of the annals of Naples and of the Inquisition. A reader is tempted to throw down the book shocked at the recital of man's inhumanity to man. If any one questions these charges let him examine the Countess DORA D'ISTRIA's "Switzerland, the Pioneer of the Reformation," and her authorities.

All that was good in the French Revolution, its liberal elevating and regenerating influences can be traced to the operation of that Spirit which proclaimed release to the captive, quickened the Reformation, and declared that "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is Liberty,"—that Spirit whose purest modern exponent was ZWINGLI, the Swiss Reformer of ZURICH.

The horrors of the French Revolution were not its necessary or inevitable results. "Insensate resistance," DORA D'ISTRIA remarks in her German Switzerland, "compels Revolutionists to pass beyond the good they would have been satisfied to reach. Were not the unceasing conspiracies of the clergy and of the aristocracy, and their dishonorable alliance with foreigners, the chief causes of the excesses of the French Revolution?"

But to resume the regular narrative of events in Switzerland since 1795, which were interrupted by the preceding remarks.

In 1801, a Diet, assembled at Berne, proclaimed a Confederation of XVII Cantons with a *central* Federal government, in that city.

In 1803, BONAPARTE promulgated his Act of Mediation,

constituting Switzerland into a Confederation of XIX Cantons, with separate local governments and a Federal Diet for the whole.

In 1814, the Deputies of the majority of the Cantons, assembled at Zurich, proclaimed the Independence of the XIX Cantons as then existing. In this year the VALAIS, NEUFCHATEL, and GENEVA, were admitted as three new Cantons making the total, as at present, XXII.

In 1815 the Allied Powers, at the Congress of Vienna, acknowledged the Independence and Perpetual Neutrality of Switzerland, and a new Federal Compact of the XXII Cantons was sworn to in the Diet, at Zurich, in the August of that year.

The French Convention, and its successor the Directory, which transmuted the Seven United Provinces of Holland into the Batavian Republic (in 1795), the states of Northern and Central Italy into the Cisalpine Republic (in 1797,) and Southern Italy into the Parthenopeian Republic, (in 1798,) about the same time crushed together the Thirteen Swiss Cantons into the Helvetian Republic, (1797). Upon the final fall of Napoleon, Switzerland existed in a Bond of XXII Cantons, and, as such, it was recognized by the Congress of Vienna, which guaranteed its independence and perpetual Neutrality.

With the restoration of Switzerland's independence, recommenced the machinations of all those who were opposed to Liberal Institutions. Immediately again the disciples of Metternich and Talleyrand, sought to reunite the severed and tangled skein of intrigues, fomented by their predecessors, guiding spirits of the surrounding monarchical and despotic powers. Jealous of the existence of a successful Free State in their midst, Austria, France, and, in a much less degree, Prussia, had no sooner signed the guarantees of Swiss Independence, than they set to

work to undermine it, and to divide the people, in the hope of annexing or appropriating any seceding or dissatisfied district, as they nearly succeeded in doing in 1846–'7.

It is greatly to be regretted that the limits of an Address precluded a more detailed examination of that Struggle, between Imperial and Papal Despotism, and comparative Freedom, which lasted from the first years of the XVI Century, to the Peace of Aarau (Argovia,) 1718; that struggle between spiritual darkness, and evangelical light which characterized the era of Zwingli, Luther and Calvin. That conflict between Lay and Ecclesiastical Aristocracy and Oligarchy and Democracy, which began with the beginnings of the Confederation, endured from the 15th Century, down to the Congress of Vienna, and was renewed, with almost equal bitterness, after Switzerland had recovered, at it were, her equilibrium, until, at length, enflamed by spiritual avidity for power, it blazed up into the Sonderbund troubles of 1840, and ended with the triumph of Republicanism, and the short, sharp, decisive, shattering triumph of the Liberals, Loyalists or Federalists, over Secession, in 1847.

Suffice it to say, that after the Recognition of the XXII Cantons, 20th March, 1815,—the renewed struggle of thirty years, between Swiss retrogradists, and progressionists, was characterized by a bitterness, which, in all likelihood, would have deterred many of our politicians from taking the stump, and embroiling public affairs.—They would have restricted their enthusiasm to *safer* occupations than statescraft, had they seen in the near future the Axe of the Headsman, and the Gyves of the Felon, as the almost certain rewards, in case of failure, of their interested endeavors. If the mountain begets fervor and fearless energy, it also begets ferocity and fierce

zeal, even to the shedding of blood. Let us thank God, that hitherto we have been spared the sights of scaffolds, erected for those who have outraged the majesty of the constitution, instead of witnessing, as in Switzerland, the bloody block, and the grim headsman holding up the dripping head of the executed rebel.

The efforts at Nullification, in every regard, which began to show themselves in Switzerland, immediately upon the fall of Napoleon, were the origin of the Swiss Separate, or Secession League, (Sonderbund.) "The Separate League," said M. Druey, Deputy of Vaud, "is a continuation of the Reactionary Movement, of 1802: of the Anti-national Intrigues of the Waldshut Committee (in 1812-'13); of the Aristocratic Enterprises of 1813-'14-'15; of the Conspiracy of 1832; of the Sarnen League in 1833; and of the Reaction effected in some Cantons since 1839, and attempted in others. That League would fain invade all the States of the Confederation."

Just as this Reaction in religious and political matters, permitted in certain Cantons, sought to invade and rule in more Liberal Cantons, just so *Slavery* endeavored to invade the Free States and impose and continue a succession of corrupt administrations upon our *free* North.

For thirty two years, Switzerland presented two hostile camps, which rested their extremities on foreign lands, and which attempted reciprocally to weaken each other, by the withdrawal of adherents. An attitude gradually more resolute and bolder was the result of these separate alliances.

According to the opinion of a writer, whose Christian sympathies and learning entitle her to reliance, the origin of the quarrel which brought these two camps into collision was the Suppression of the Convents of Argovia or

Aargau for taking part in political disturbances, in 1841, on the motion of a Member of the Diet of their own (Roman Catholic) persuasion.* Austria, which permits no opportunity of exercising its reactionary influence in the Swiss Confederation, interfered on the most frivolous grounds. To avenge the Suppression of the Argovian Convents, the Austro-Romanists or ULTRAMONTANISTS, by which term we shall distinguish the REBELS or SECESSION party in the Cantons, determined to invite the Jesuits to return. The Ultramontanists held the balance of power in Switzerland just, as it is to be feared, they do in this country. To re-establish their influence this party recalled the Jesuits, whose Institution or Society, as early as in 1818, had been energetically protested against, even in bigoted Freyburg, as incompatible with a Free State. The project of inviting this unpopular Society to Lucerne, against the decided will of the majority of the Swiss people, and the suggestion, at Lucerne, of the formation of a SEPARATE LEAGUE or Sonderbund, for the armed maintenance of the peculiar views of the ULTRA-RETROGRADE party, produced a formidable agitation throughout the whole of Switzerland. This excitement engendered the FREE CORPS, which bear the same relation to Swiss Secession that our armed Emigration to KANSAS bore to the aggressions of Slavery. But just as the usurpations and violences of Slavery produced such terrible results in Kansas, just so the Ultra-party, in Switzerland, must be held responsible for all that subsequently occurred there. The discovery of the Minutes of the Separate-League conspirators, of the 13th and 14th September, 1843, at the Baths of ROTHEN, near LUCERNE, was a real triumph

* Compare MENZEL's *History of Germany* [in Mrs. Horrocks' Eng. Trans. (Bohn's Edition), 1854], Chapter CCLXVIII, Pages 395-400 (particularly last ¶, Page 400), Vol. III, with Countess DORA D'ISTRIA's *Switzerland, the Pioneer of the Reformation*, H. G.'s Trans., London, 1858, § XXIII, Pages 4-39, particularly 28-30, Vol. 2.

for the partisans of the Free Corps. It proved that the adversaries of the Volunteers, NOT *they*, had inaugurated the struggle. These Free Corps, however justifiable in principles and intention, were censurable in action.—Their invasion of Lucerne and the Valais was a parallel of JOHN BROWN'S foray into Virginia without the lofty enthusiasm and purity of purpose of the "hero of the Osawatomie." Moreover the expeditions of these Free Corps experienced the fate of John Brown's rash attempt. And just as his party were shot down at HARPER'S FERRY in the name of SLAVERY, the Free Corps were shot down at the bridges across the TRIENT, the REUSS and the EMME, in the name of another, no less dangerous, slavery. These and similar successes over the Free Corps, particularly the bloody victory of the Ultramontanists at Lucerne, incited the conquerors to outrage all liberal sentiment and complete their preparations for the great struggle which they had determined to bring on, for, unless blind and stolid, they must have seen the terrible consequences which would ensue.

Let those who blame the operations of the Swiss Free Corps, or Volunteers, remember what bands of worse than savages, spiritual and political despots have often let loose upon Liberals; let them recall the invasion of Kansas by hordes of Missourian desperadoes; and let them recollect that no sooner had the Ultramontane coalition or Swiss *Sonderbund* gained the advantage over the Free Corps by the "Fratricide on the Trient," than *they actually forbade the practice of private worship, to Swiss Protestants, in* THEIR OWN *Canton.* "*The Grand Council of the Valais decided that the Roman Catholic religion alone* should a have worship *culte.*" LOUIS XIV had scarcely claimed more despotic authority over his Reformed subjects than the Ultramontanists exerted, where they had

the power of influencing citizens to tyrannize over their fellow citizens. ZSCHOKKE says that now the assertion of the PREBENDARY of RIVAZ was made good:—"That Valais *first* of all was to be Catholic, *then* Swiss." As an antithesis to this declaration bear in mind that the exponents of Slavery, at Richmond, assumed that any one who did not believe in the divine institution of Chattelage, was an Abolitionist.

Thus it was made to appear to the world that the Liberals inaugurated the contest, whereas the opposite party had not only been long and secretly at work but were actually prepared to receive the attacks upon Sion and Lucerne which their crimes and conspiracies had occasioned. Are we not justified in stating that the summons to arms issued by the Rebel leaders invited and justified a corresponding action in the Loyal party? The Secessionists, both in Switzerland and the United States, acted on the principle of Cardinal RICHELIEU, that "a Lie which lasts four and twenty hours, makes great operation." This sentiment is attributed to Frederic the Great, erroneously however. It did not originate with the atheistical soldier, but with a Cardinal of that church whose disciples dispersed to the winds the ashes of the martyred ZWINGLI mingled with those of swine. The Free Corps had the same plea for their organization and action that European liberals, like VICTOR HUGO, admitted as valid in favor of JOHN BROWN. I am not here to justify or condemn John Brown. I should not and I would not presume even farther to discuss the subject.—I have simply referred to it as an historical fact in order to show how human events repeat themselves, even as to details, and that, therefore, a critical study of history is often equivalent to personal experience in a mind capable of close analysis and comparison.

In many respects, even to particulars, the parallel between the ideas, assumptions and operations of the Swiss-Separate-League-Cantons and the American-Secession-States has been perfect. When Switzerland's War of Independence had been triumphantly terminated, ZWINGLI, the first and most practical of the Reformers, took his solemn stand against the Interventions of that Church, or rather Schism, which has been the Remittent Fever of the Confederation from his day to the present. In this prescience, he closely resembles our WASHINGTON, to whom Zwingli has been compared, in regard to his warnings against foreign influences and entangling alliances. Both alike were reverenced by the wise and the good everywhere, and respected and beloved at home.—Both were true patriots, devoted to the best interests of their several countries, and "magnanimous." What a vast scope of the highest eulogy does the last epithet, justly applied, embrace. Zwingli energetically protested, I repeat, with intrepid persistence against the lures and wiles of foreign incitations and entangling coalitions, and fell a victim to his foresight. His warnings were prophetic. The Influences, he denounced, as susceptible of producing such demoralizing consequences, equivalent to the effects of Slavery, were the causes of differences and bloodshed in Switzerland from his day to the present time, and even so Slavery, proper, has always kept our own country in a state of feverish excitement, and has ended in producing one of the bloodiest wars upon record. Alas, too soon for his country and the world, ZWINGLI fell a martyr to the animosity aroused by his patriotic eloquence.

Looking back two hundred and seventy years we find that the SONDERBUND of the XVIth Century known as the Borromean or GOLDEN LEAGUE of 1586, whose pretended

object was simply mutual protection and assistance, was not only a defensive but likewise an aggressive alliance. Just so the SONDERBUND of 1843-'6. In our own case the Slave Party, its adherents and parasites, were never contented with the enjoyment of their own rights, but unceasingly endeavored to invade the prerogatives of others; to stem the tide of liberal progress and of freedom; and to acquire new guarantees for their very encroachments. In a lesser degree and sphere we have seen the same spirit germinate into the treasonable Association of the Knights of the GOLDEN CIRCLE, a fitting title, with an object analogous to that of the Golden League, the violation of the Constitution, the extension of Slavery, and the subversion of Liberty.

Just as the Ultramontanists of Switzerland first violated the spirit and transgressed the limits of Federal compact, just so the Slavocrat political leaders eluded the restraints of the American Constitution. Their unreasonable exactions and inexcusable violence, their cries of "Give!" "Give!" never to be satisfied, excited the Liberals, in both countries, to reprisals. In Switzerland the true Republicans took up arms simply to re-establish their brethren, the Unionists, within the territories of the traitorous alliance, in the possessions of those privileges which had been ravished from them by force. In the same manner the American Republicans responded to the Federal call to re-establish a violated Constitution. If, in order to do so, they were compelled to break the fetters of the Slave, what right had the chattel-owners to complain? Had they not trampled and spat upon the very compact which protected them in their unrighteous tyranny; their hold upon the bodies and souls of their fellow men.

As hereinbefore mentioned the Treaty of Alliance constituting the **Sonderbund** (SECESSION Compact or Sep-

arate LEAGUE of UR-SCHWYZ, Old or Primitive Switzerland,) was made public at FREYBURG in May, 1846. In June it was, as it were, officially promulgated.

Nothing new however was published, for Swiss Treason, like Southern Secession, had not been deliberated in secret. The very publicity of its proceedings and threats led the majority to suppose that there was more in them of menace than intention. Practical men could not believe that Cantons or States would sacrifice their interests to their passions.

Honest and sober men, however, both in Switzerland and in this country, were woefully mistaken.

Even as Secession arrayed ELEVEN SLAVEHOLDING STATES, and relied with certainty on the co-operation of THREE more to resist the efforts of the Union abiding nineteen Free States, the Sonderbund arrayed seven Seceding Cantons against twelve Cantons and two Half-Cantons faithful to the Constitution. One Canton and two Half-Cantons, like our doubting or doubtful Border States, remained indifferent, and constituted what has been styled the "Neutral Sonderbund." The effect of their attitude was like that of a cold palsy, upon many in the loyal districts who occupied about the same uninteresting position as the Anti-coercion Unionists among us. One Canton, the money-making city of Basle, was deterred from decided action by fears of trade, but the Basle country, like rural New York, was true as steel to the Constitution and Union.

It may be interesting to consider the relative position and forces of the two camps into which Switzerland was decided.

Here was a little free country containing less than 2,400,000 inhabitants, all told, surrounded by mighty

sovereignties sympathising with, and aiding, the revolutionists, menaced by an internal convulsion, which arrayed 416,000 people, disposed in natural fortresses of prodigious strength and susceptible of protracted resistance, against 1,860,000 faithful subjects and about 111,000 neutrals. The proportion was LIBERALS, FEDERALISTS or UNIONISTS, *eighteen*, to Ultramontanists, Sonderbundists or Rebels, *five*, to *Neutrals*, *one*. The relative numbers in our own case are about the same, throwing out the slave element, Loyalists or Unionists, *nineteen and one-fourth*, Slavocrats, Secessionsts or Rebels, *five*, Neutrals, *three*.—Our Rebels however have this advantage, that their Slaves are a source of Strength, and the Sympathy of our Copperheads or Peace party almost divided our forces.

The relative area of loyal and rebel territory were in both cases not much unlike. The territory of the Swiss Secession Cantons was, it is true, much more dislocated than that of the Confederate States, but its actual susceptibility of defence was not inferior. The Districts of the Separate League lay in a crescent shape, somewhat resembling one of the mediæval hunting horns, with a very large bell and mouth-piece. The latter, to the West, rested upon the Lake of NEUCHATEL, while the LAKE of the FOUR CANTONS not inaptly represented the orifice of the former. The SONDERBUND (Secession League) certainly enjoyed the best position militarily considered, for their troops could operate on interior lines while the Federals, as in our own case, were obliged to move on difficult exterior lines.

What is more, just as the Secessionists had the pick, as they supposed, of our West Point officers, the Swiss Rebels had the advantage of entrusting their commands to leaders of great experience who had witnessed and

participated in the operations of actual war upon a large scale. Many of these officers were the more devoted to the Ultramontane party, and the more bitterly opposed the Liberals, from the fact that their talents had been exercised in the service of the king of Naples and other despotic monarchs, where their superior abilities, Swiss courage, and the confidence, which their national character justified, had given them opportunities far beyond those commensurate with their actual rank. Foreign officers also joined this unholy league.

These coincidences could be followed out much further would time permit, but one point remains to be noticed. While the Ultramontanists, like the Slave faction, Secessionists and Copperheads, were claiming the most unrestricted liberty for themselves, their tyranny exceeded all bounds, They abolished the Liberty of the Press, and permitted just as much free speech as would furnish an excuse for the punishment of the speaker. PESTALOZZI, the celebrated Swiss "St. Vincent de Paul of Education," furnishes the only excuse for the excesses of the Separate League Cantons. "He saw that the principal CAUSE of the misery of the multitude was their IGNORANCE, which did not allow them to make use of their political rights, even for the amelioration of their position." The same can be the only explanation for the action and atrocities of the Rebels. Moreover had our Rebels been less ignorant, they would not have permitted themselves to be slaughtered and expended for the interests of a wicked oligarchy.

In the month of May, 1846. as we have said, the treaty of disunion constituting the *Sonderbund* (Separate League or Secession-Union) of Ur-Schweiz (the Switzerland of old time) was published.

Nothing new, however, was promulgated, for just as treason at the South has been germinating for thirty years, so the Sonderbund doctrine was completely systematized some time before the first attack was made upon the Swiss secessionists by the liberals.

Nine months of conciliatory negotiation elapsed before the Swiss Diet came to the decision to act by force of arms. During that time the constitutional party was gradually becoming more and more satisfied that nothing remained but a resort to the "*ultima ratio regum.*" The attitude of the Sonderbundists discovered that all other reasoning was in vain. Much the same state of things existed in the secession cantons as now exists in the seceding states. There, as here, there was a minority Union party who made themselves heard. There, as here, they attempted to make themselves felt also, but, "whelmed in blood and tears," they were trampled under foot with savage severity by a treasonable majority. The Unionists at Lucerne and in other seceding cantons, experienced exactly what would be the fate of a conservative minority in Charleston, exactly what has been the fate of such a minority in Tennessee. They were either bayoneted, or crushed by legal prosecution, into silence.

The Rebel Swiss ought to have fought well. They were fanatics in the closest application of the word, and of a race brave, under any circumstances, to a proverb. They had sharpened their swords on the tomb of the martyred St. Maurice, their rifles had been solemnly blessed by their spiritual guides, visions and miracles had been reported to cheer their hopes, and human assistance from abroad, and supernatural intervention from above, were confidently expected.

Spiritual avarice, if the term be admissable, lent that vigor to the Sonderbund that the thirst for material

wealth, borrowing the mantle of chivalry, had infused into the lords and champions of Cottondom.

Slowly but surely the unionist cantons proceeded with their preparations. On the 20th of July, 1847, the conservative portion of the Diet declared the Sonderbund, or Separate League, dissolved, and by successive decrees 11th August and 3d September, proceeded to forbid the introduction of arms into the revolted states, and finally 20th–29th October, to organize its forces for definitive action. In other words, the loyal and true cantons made ready to enforce the laws and coerce the rebels into submission.

Then MEYER, deputy of Lucerne, in behalf of the Sonderbund-Seven, rose in the Federal Diet and said "The moment has come for us to withdraw." Invoking God's name, he cast upon the Federal, Loyal or Union representatives all present and future responsibility for coming events. Then the Rebel deputies departed. Had our Arch-rebel DAVIS and his associates critically studied the conduct of the Swiss secession leaders, they could not have imitated and repeated with more hypocritical solemnity the farce of an unvoluntary departure—a withdrawing, a sundering, a Secession, deliberately planned and long since resolved upon, which was to plunge a peaceful, prosperous people in flames, in blood and in tears.

The Swiss Sonderbund Campaign.

The political difficulties in Switzerland had now reached their climax. The analogous period of our own struggle was the time of President Lincoln's inauguration. To use the quaint but emphatic old English phraseology, Loyalty and Disloyalty looked one another in the face. Both parties felt that the question, now, could not be

determined without bloodshed. The Federal Diet might, with reason, have addressed to the Rebel Administrative Council, the words of King JOHN to the French monarch, before the walls of Angiers:

> Peace be to France; if France in peace permit
> Our just and lineal entrance to our own!
> If not; bleed France, and peace ascend to heaven!
> While's we, God's wrathful agent, do correct
> Their proud contempt that beat His peace to heaven.

These sentiments of England's King convey the very gist of Lincoln's inaugural. What a difference, however, between the immediate consequents of the declaration of the Swiss Federal Diet and those of the Presidential Address.

The first Swiss Federal Call for Volunteers was for 50,000 men, equal in proportion to our population to a levy of 550,000. President LINCOLN's first demand was for 75,000 men, equal in proportion to the *Swiss population to less than* 7,000.

This was the GREAT MISTAKE of our War.

The second Swiss Federal Call was for 90,000 men, equivalent in the United States to a levy of 1,000,000; 100,000 responded.

Literally,—

> "The drum was beat; and lo!
> The plough, the work-shop is forsaken, all
> *Swarm* to the old, familiar, long-loved banner."

and bound upon their left arms, above the elbow, the red band, emblazoned with the white Helvetian cross, the symbol of National or Federal service. This Armlet is a token that the Militiaman is no longer at the disposition of the individual Canton or State, to which he belongs, but of the whole Confederation or Union.

On the mountains and in the valleys, in the marts and in the manufactories of every loyal territory, the cry "To

Arms! the country is in danger!" was universal. Everywhere men felt and acted up to the sentiment.

> "Ever constant, ever true,
> Let the Word be No Surrender!
> Boldly dare, and greatly do:
> This shall bring us greatly through:
> No Surrender! No Surrender!"

On the 26th October, 1847, General Dufour, of Geneva, the Federal Commander-in-Chief, issued his proclamation to an Army of from 90,000 to 100,000 confederated freemen, formed into six divisions, with two hundred and sixty pieces of artillery. To these the Secession party opposed 30,000, in Lucerne, besides an army corps in other districts, and multitudes of mere militia filled with raging enthusiasm. The bloodthirstiness evinced long beforehand by the Ultras of the Sonderbund was horrible, as repugnant to civilization as that of the majority of our Secessionists. "All means were employed to excite fanaticism. The Papal Nuncio himself blessed the banners of those going to the frontiers, as formerly before the fratricidal war of Villmergen. Jesuits were appointed field-chaplains. Blessed amulets were distributed to the hordes of the Landsturm, to protect them from shot and sword, and preachers from the pulpit assured all the people of the assistance of the Virgin Mary to preserve them from death and make their victory sure."

The regularly organized forces of the Sonderbund have been estimated as high as 36,000, supported by a *Landsturm* of 48,000. Total disposable numbers 83,000. From a comparison of all the different statements, between regularly organized troops, militia proper, &c., out of a population of 2,400,000, at least 200,000 must have been in the field, or in garrison, or doing duty with the armies in the opposing camps. This would be equivalent to 2,250,

000 out of the population of our whole country, North and South.

It may seem surprising that a comparatively poor country like Switzerland could set in motion so large an army at so short a notice. The explanation is clear and convincing. The Cantons possess a Militia so admirably organized that it can be placed on a war footing at once. The Swiss motto is one which should be ours, "*no Regular Army but every Citizen a Soldier.*" Our constitution contemplated this result. The Swiss Federal triumph was undoubtedly due to this *preparation for* WAR *in time of* PEACE.

Dufour's address, "as energetic as it was moderate," seemed like the signal of the prompter for the rolling up of the curtain. Through what a series of magnificent scenery, rolled on the vigorous action of the short but startling, stringent but splendid, drama of Swiss military coercion.

Strong in the Righteousness of their cause, the Loyal columns marched out from their homes to extinguish Secession. Moving proudly on, battery to battery, squadron to squadron, battalion to battalion answered with,—

"A martial song like a trumpet's call."

From street and door-step, window and house top, hill and valley, matrons and maids, and all incapable of bearing arms, echoed encouragement.—

"Singing of men that in battle array,
Ready in heart and ready in hand,
March with banner and bugle and fife,
To the Death for their Native Land."

"Singing of Death, and of honor that cannot die"—Death or the Salvation of the Fatherland.

General WILLIAM HENRY DUFOUR, the Crusher of the Sonderbund, like our MEADE, the Hero of Gettysburgh,

was not by birth a Swiss. Even as MEADE was born at Cadiz, in Spain, the son of Pennsylvanian parents, even so DUFOUR, although born at *Constance*, in *Baden*, sprang from a family natives of *Geneva*. In the latter city he received his early education and made mathematics his peculiar study. When Geneva had been incorporated with France, he entered in 1807, the Polytechnic school at Paris, and, in 1809, received his first commission in the corps of military Engineers.*

To this peculiarly scientific branch of the service we owe several of our best Generals, such as ROSECRANS, GILLMORE, MEADE, if a combination not a speciality of talent is the test of superiority.

At the period Dufour was appointed Commander-in-Chief, he had attained the age of 60 years. In personal appearance, if his portrait exposed for sale at the time, is reliable, he closely resembled, in face and form, our illustrious and lamented Clay, nor did he yield to that

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* DUFOUR participated in the last campaigns of the Empire, and rose to the rank of Captain. After the fall of Napoleon he entered the Swiss Federal Service, and soon became Colonel, the highest recognized grade. In 1831, he was appointed Chief of the General Staff, and a short time afterwards Quartermaster-General.—To him was confided the Direction of the Triangulation, the basis of the Topographical map of Switzerland. As Chief Instructor of Engineering at the Federal Military School at Thun, he rendered important services to his country. In 1840, he published his "*Memoir on the Artillery of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages*," and, in 1842, his "*Manual of* TACTICS *for Officers of* ALL ARMS," one of the best works of the kind in existence. In 1847, DUFOUR, at the age of 60, received, with the title of General, the command of the Army opposed to the SONDERBUND. "*His skillful manœuvres speedily insured the Triumph of Liberal Switzerland. Forestalled by the rapidity of his action, foreign governments did not dare to interfere, and the Roman Catholics sued for pardon. This* CAMPAIGN *preserved the* UNITY *and, perhaps, the* INDEPENDENCE *of the* HELVETIAN CONFEDERATION." It won for General DUFOUR numerous testimonials of National gratitude. The Federal Diet voted him a Sabre of Honor and a Donative of ($8,000) 40,000 francs. (*Dict. des Contemporains.*) Since this triumphant proof of his ability, DUFOUR has been employed in a number of diplomatic missions, secret as well as public, in all of which he acquired as much credit and respect as in his military operations. DUFOUR is Grand Officer of the French Legion of Honor.

noble exponent of loyal sentiments in the boldness, purity and self-negation of his patriotism.

"On the 4th November, 1847, a decree of the Diet ordered General Dufour to dissolve the Sonderbund by force of arms." "Now the statesmen had done their part; the sword must give the fatal blow." It was found difficult to bring such numerous battalions into the field and pay and feed them, at a time when Switzerland was still suffering from the effects of a year of scarcity and pecuniary embarrassments; but the admirable energy of Berne, the metropolis, provided all. That canton had already imposed on itself all kinds of sacrifices. It had already emptied its treasury and its arsenals, yet it did not hesitate to lend half a million of Swiss francs to the confederation; proving that it was still worthy of the glorious days of its War of Independence.

Even the Progress of Hostilities in SWITZERLAND bears out the Analogy to the present War in the UNITED STATES. Just as the first attack was made upon our Federal Troops, constituting the Garrisons of Forts SUMTER and PICKENS, on our Eastern and South Eastern maritime frontier, before the idea of Coercion was fully inaugurated, just so attempts were made to resist the Federal authorities in the extreme Northern and North Eastern Cantons of AARGAU and ST. GALL. Both these partial insurrections, happily, had the same result as our Rebels attempt upon SANTA ROSA Island, opposite Pensacola. They were quickly suppressed. Nor was the first attack upon our Federal troops, stationed at the extreme South-western posts of the Union, in TEXAS, without a parallel abroad. Just so, before the Swiss national army was fully arrayed, the Sonderbund faction transported a body of Uranians, troops of Uri, with great difficulty, across the Lepontian Alps, and made an attack upon the

Federals in the outlying Canton of TICINO, which projects southwards like a cape, into Lombardy. The first result however in the TESSINESE was the exact reverse of that in TEXAS, since two of the Sonderbundist leaders paid for their temerity with their lives. The Loyal Swiss had a LYON there, just as we had when most needed, in Missouri, —Colonel LUVINI. Happier than our lamented soldier-martyr, he survived the war to wear the laurels he had nobly won in defending the integrity of his country. This affair occurred on the southern slope of the *St. Gothard*, famous for the transit of SUWARROW in 1800. Thus blood had been shed by the rebels, on the very day that the Proclamation was issued for the Suppression of the Separate League, by force of arms.

DUFOUR'S plan of operations was founded on the very ANACONDA SYSTEM which has lately been so much decried and even derided in this country. It was successful. He surrounded the territories of the Sonderbund with an immense chain of troops, closing every entrance and exit. Simultaneously, he threw a separate coil around the Canton of FREYBURG, partly detached from its confederate sisters. At the same time he struck with the instinctive energy of genius at one of the vital points of the rebellion. Like the keen Lammergeyer of the Alps, amid whose embattled ranges he was operating, with huge expanded wings feathered with steel, he swooped down on his quarry, Freyburg. To borrow the language of the gentle sport of Falconry, "unhooded and thrown off, his stoop" was like the levin-bolt, direct and dazzling, unimpeded by the "jesses" of red tape, untrammelled by the electric "signals" of beaurocratic interference. The matured vigor of Dufour's "Forwards" strategy recalls the vivid comparison of Octavio Piccolomini.

"Straight forward goes the Lightning's,
Straight forward goes the cannon-ball's fearful path,
Swift, by directest course, it hurtles on,
Shattering it makes its way, that it may shatter."

The Federal Diet, as soon as it had appealed to arms, committed everything to the grey-haired general to whom they had entrusted the Sword. This was as it should have been, and the result justified their confidence. The members of the Diet felt the influence of, the Federal Military School of Thun, the "West Point" of the Swiss Confederation. The French Emperor Louis Napoleon was a pupil of this institution. There he had made his debut in the Artillery, just as his uncle had graduated at Brienne, to enter the same Arm of the French service. Others had seen service themselves. All the Members of Diet had the sufficient judgment to appreciate and concede, that

"In the Field,
There, must the PRESENT ONE direct, Supreme,
The Head in Person rule; his *own* eye see.—
If War-Chief needs all Nature's greatest gifts,
Grudge him not then, to live in all the vast
Proportions of her greatness. He, alone,
The living oracle, indwelling, must consult
Not orders old, dead books, or musty papers."

Nor had the Swiss general, himself forgotten the ADAGE of the Great Captain under whose eagles he had made his first campaigns, that "*he, who gropes* (or moves irresolutely) *loses.*" He knew that at this crisis, to "amuse himself at Gembloux" would ruin his country. Dufour was imbued with the spirit of those hero-bards evoked by the War of 1812-'13, for the Deliverance of Germany, whose poetic gems like

"Sparks of noble spirits flew,"

struck out by the clash between Tyranny and Avenging Freedom. A wonderful generation that of KORNER, brothers, in race and instincts, of ZWINGLI, they poured forth

their blood and their song with equal courage and fire for their country. Sword in hand, the minstrel-martyr thundered the vital question :—

> "WHAT would the Singer's Fatherland?—
> Strike to her feet the servile race,
> Forth, from her soil, the bloodhound chase,
> FREE, *bear* FREE SONS (upon her face)
> Or bed them, FREE, beneath her sand;
> THAT would my Fatherland!

And, in trumpet tones KORNER responded, a few hours before he fell upon the field of Gadebush, singing his Sword-Song while the wing of the death-angel beat chilly upon him:—

> "What rapture thus to be
> The Guardian of the Free.
> Hurrah!"

Such were the Germans of 1812-'15 under BLUCHER; such were the Swiss of 1847, under DUFOUR, who proved

> "SKILL, *mixed with* WILL, *is he that teaches best.*"

DUFOUR doubtless determined to commence his active operations with the capture of Freyburg, for several reasons: *morally*, because it had long been a centre of Ultramontane intrigue and Secession conspiracies; *physically*, because the season was late for campaigning in a mountain region, and neither politics nor strategy could permit any unnecessary delay; *militarily*, because it lay separate and unsupported. He selected FREYBURG just as a good General falls unexpectedly on a dislocated corps or division *en aire*. The result showed that Dufour's plans had been digested with consummate discretion.

The Canton of Freyburg is very peculiarly situated. Its capital, Dufour's object, even more so. Although completely embraced by the Liberal Cantons of Berne and Vaud, it has always been noted for its intolerance. Bisected by the Saane, or Sarine, the southern half is

mountainous but rich in pastures, while the northern embraces some of the finest agricultural ground in Switzerland. Portions of the latter are said to resemble districts in England, pleasant to the eyes of the farmer. Moreover this northern district is one of the few of the Confederation which produces corn in sufficient quantities to render it independent of foreign supplies. Between its animal and vegetable productions, the Canton is self-sustaining. Consequently as the harvest had been gathered, it should have made a protracted defence.

Three languages are spoken in this Canton. Notwithstanding, the feelings of the people were not divided as a rule, for the proportion of Protestants is very small and generally confined to particular localities. French is the predominating dialect towards the North, West, and in the towns, German in the North-east, and Romansch, a corruption of the Latin, in the South.

> "A Babylonish dialect,
> Which learned pedants much affect;
> It was a parti-colored dress
> Of patch'd and piebald languages."

The capital is even more singular, physically, morally, and relatively, than the canton. The upper town is French, the lower is German, both were behind the times, exclusive, opposed to new men and new ideas. SIMOND says "this town is so exactly on the limits of the Gallic and Germanic idioms, that one half of the inhabitants do not understand the other." Its site resembles that of Constantine in Algeria; Civita Castellana in Viterbo, States of the Church; and Vicksburgh. Just as the two former are seated on scarped rocks and the latter on a bluff, in Ox-bows of the Oued-el-Kebir, Rio Maggiore and the Mississippi, just so Freyburg is situated on an elevated tongue of soft sand-stone rock, perforated with caverns, and bare of vegetation, washed on three sides by the turbid Saane,

flowing without beauty, in its profound gloomy chasm. Before it, to the north, stretches as stated, one of the finest agricultural districts in the XXII Cantons. Behind it tower the Bernese Alps and mountain citadels of the Valais. With the latter it is connected by only a single good road, while five grand routes diverge from its gates to Berne, the Lakes of Bienne, Morat, Neuchatel and Geneva. The territory embraced between them, resembles a Fan, of which the Roads represent the Ribs, having a radius of fifteen miles. Of this fan, Freyburg city constitutes the knob or handle, grasped by the rapid Saane, rushing around and beneath the town, overhung by quaint buildings which seem to need only a gust of wind to topple them over the precipice into the gulf below. It is strange that while thus united, to the east, north and west with the land of Progress and Liberality, by easy and fine roads and, to the south, the citadel of Romanism by only one circuitous route, Freyburg has lain buried in the sleep of apathy or worse. The population seemed willing to receive nothing beneficial by the many channels from the north, and any amount of prejudicial influences through the single one to the rear. They admitted they were behind the time, but consoled themselves that other Romanist Swiss were still more so. They were now destined to realize the truth of VICTOR HUGO's remark that "the North and the People are the reservoirs of humanity."

"Yet, FREEDOM! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm against the wind:
Thy trumpet voice tho' broken now and dying,
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind;
Thy tree hath lost its blossoms, and the rind
Chopp'd by the axe seems rough and little worth,
But the sap lasts,—and still the seed we find
Sown deep, *even in the bosom of the* NORTH;
So shall a better spring less bitter fruit bring forth."

Seated aloft and looking out in every direction

upon scenery unexceeded in beauty and sublimity, in full view of the majestic Alps, the birthplace of the Freyburgher resembles, in its glorious elevation and surroundings, the cradle of Zwingli. Notwithstanding, the former seemed to have derived therefrom ideas diametrically opposite to the celestial influences which nature infused into the expanding mind of the Reformer of Zurich. Prior to its capture by Dufour, in 1847, it was the stronghold of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Previous to that date the education of its population had been in the hands of the Jesuits, and their College in this city had been the chief nursery of the Society out of Italy. This may account for the fact, that down to 1782, the government of ~~Zurich~~ burg was the closest aristocracy or oligarchy, even among those Cantons whose people in "the middle ages, vegetated under the cudgels of their lords and the crosiers of their bishops." In the administration of its public affairs, it was styled the Venice of Switzerland. Nor does the comparison between Freyburg and the Queen of the Adriatic cease with the consideration of its government. Just as the latter is almost unique in its peculiar natural position, architecture and other objects of curiosity, just so Freyburg greets the curious traveller with an unwonted display of mediæval constructions and feudal remains. "The dirt, the Madonnas, the colossal crucifixes, strongly recalled Italy." "Striking and romantic," and "possessing so many attributes of the picturesque" it has an exterior "with which the meanness of the interior does not correspond." "Even in these days (1841) it contained five convents for men and four for women, within its walls. One of these is a college, on a very large scale, 'a staring, modern building, like a manufactory, with five stories,' for the Jesuits." "On the whole, the place is like no other in Switzerland."

Long lines of embattled walls climb its steep heights and plunge into the gloom of the Sarine. Watch-towers shoot up from space to space, and mediæval bastions defend its gates, specimens of the first steps of scientific engineering. The massive constructions might almost laugh to scorn a siege undertaken with the ordinary field artillery of sixteen years since, and would have done so had the spirit of Freyburg's men equalled the solidity of its walls.

It has been remarked that Dufour's plan of operations had been digested with consummate discretion. It was now carried out with equal ability.

The chief command of the Secessionists in this district, had been confided to Gen. Maillardoz. This officer had served with distinction under the same master in the Art of War, Napoleon, as Dufour; likewise under the Bourbon Restoration in France. Yet how inferior did he prove himself in the application of the rules, learned under the same ensigns. Dufour completely outwitted him. Maillardoz had been led to expect that he would be attacked from the east. He anticipated that the principal forces of the Confederation would invade Freyburg by Laupen, the scene of a wonderful victory of the republican Bernese over the league of the imperialist Nobles, in 1339,—Neueneck, and Schwarzenburg, all three on the river Sense, the boundary between the cantons of Berne and Freyburg. From that quarter patriotic Ochsenbein, who commanded the Free Corps, which had been beaten back from Lucerne in 1845, was indeed advancing. This movement, however, was more to attract the attention of the Rebel General than intended as a real attack, although capable, if necessary, of becoming one. Ochsenbein's march of about 18 miles, had to

be made through long, deep and narrow defiles, susceptible of murderous defence, by the main route from Berne to Freyburg. This road emerging from the Bear's Gate of the Capital of the Confederation, passes through a difficult but magnificent country, crosses the Sarine by a splendid suspension bridge 941 feet long, at an elevation of 180 feet, and delivers the traveller, at once, by a breach through the old houses, in the very heart of Freyburg. Previous to the erection of this bridge, it required an hour of difficult descent, detour, and ascent, to cross the gorge of the Sarine, which is now accomplished in two minutes.

While thus the attention of the Freyburghers was fascinated by the approach of Ochsenbein from the East, the other Federal divisions had been massed to the northward, in the loyal district of Morat, and, to the westward, in the Canton of Vaud, which sweeps round, beyond the head of the lakes of Geneva, to St. Maurice on the Road to Sion. On the 9th and 10th November, five days after promulgation of the Decree of the Federal Diet for the forcible dissolution of the Sonderbund, twenty thousand loyal troops invaded Freyburg. Relatively, this Canton occupied the same position in regard to the Sonderbund League that Virginia held to our own Rebel Confederacy. The frontier towns were occupied without a shot being fired. The capture of Staffis or Estavayer, on the Lake of Neuchatel, presents a perfect parallel to the capture of Alexandria on the Potomac. The Federals were astonished to meet with no opposition. This was the more surprising since the whole canton of Freyburg, the district of the capital city especially, was strongly defended by nature and art. This simultaneous closing in, would be exactly exemplified by

the act of pushing in one of those Fans, whose size can be reduced, at once, one half, by their ribs shutting into themselves like the joints of a telescope. From the north and west, strong columns advanced upon four of the five roads which come together at Freyburg. The 1st, most easterly, the direct connection between the beleaguered town and nucleus or main body of the Sonderbund, was already closed by Ochsenbein's occupation of Neueneck. The positions of Morat and Estavayer, on the 2d and 3d, now precluded all access to the lakes of Bienne and Neuchatel, by which the Rebels hoped to receive supplies from France, as well as smuggled assistance from "Copperhead" Neuchatel itself. The capture of Romont, on the 4th, and Chatel St. Denis, on the 5th, road, cut off all hopes of aid from sympathizing Savoy, across the lake of Geneva, through traitors in Lausanne and Vevay. Finally, the occupation of Bulle, at the junction of the road to Vevay, the 5th, and the main route to the Valais, severed that, the last source of supply. From Bulle, likewise, the mountain road through the same valley, but on the opposite shore, of the Sarine, could be completely supervised and commanded. On the 11th November, the Federals resumed their advance and, driving the rebels before them, huddled them in upon a centre incapable, under the circumstances, of maintaining such numbers. On the morning of the 12th November, Freyburg found itself completely surrounded on the west or left side of the Sarine, by an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, ready to move to the assault. Ochsenbein's division, meanwhile, observed the other side. Completely isolated, Freyburg had now to make good its boasts, and stand or fall alone.

The population of this capital were commanded by officers considered skillful, and had themselves a good

military reputation. "It was announced in foreign countries that the Catholics of Freyburg would renew the wonders of the heroic defence of Saragossa." The natural position of the Spanish city was by no means as strong. All that was required was a like determination in the people. This did not exist and, before a shot was fired, the mere sight of the environing masses had engendered ideas of submission. From his headquarters at Avenches, about six miles to the north, on the 12th, Dufour had addressed a proclamation to his army and on the 13th, had despatched a flag of truce to the authorities of the beleaguered town to convince them of the futility of defence. The Council of State convoked a Council of War, and the latter were sufficiently intimidated at the aspect of affairs to request a suspension of arms. This was granted, conditionally, till the morning of the 14th. Meanwhile the Federal Colonel Rilliet, commanding the 1st Division of Dufour's army, was either ignorant of this armistice or unwilling to accept it, unless his troops were permitted to occupy the Wood of Dailliettes. This wood appears to have been the key-point of the Freyburgher's line of defence, on the North of the Sarine. It had been fortified with care and occupied by eleven hundred Rebels, with orders to hold it to the last man. Rilliet's summons to evacuate this post was refused. This was on the evening of the 13th. Thereupon the works were attacked, and the fiery Liberals of Vaud carried the main redoubts of Bertigny. The fighting continued after nightfall. Amid the darkness the Vaud troops charged through the abatis and ditches and drove the Freyburgher's out of the wood. Had daylight lasted another hour, the Federals would have taken the City by storm. The struggle had been fierce and bloody, but it rendered farther sacrifices needless. The Inspiration of Liberty

proved too powerful even for the Fanaticism of a Religious Education, whose cardinal principle is blind and absolute obedience. At 8 A. M., on the 14th, Freyburg capitulated and withdrew from the Sonderbund.

General MAILLARDOZ, the rebel commander, was obliged to seek refuge in the Federal headquarters against the outrages of his own troops, furious at their defeat, which they attributed to him while due to their own feeble resistance. Accused of betraying his associates in treason, he subsequently died in obscurity and misery. The Jesuits were expelled, the Canton militarily occupied and thoroughly subjugated, and, amid tears of joy, the incarceratsd Unionists welcomed their deliverers. To carry out the comparison in our own case, witness the reception of BURNSIDE in Eastern Tennessee. Thus satisfactorily the curtain fell on the first act of the Grand Drama of Coercion. Its action embraced a period of six days.

Meanwhile, despite the loyal successes and their own disparity of forces, the Rebels were enabled to make incursions into Loyal Cantons bordering on their own territory. just as Maryland and Pennsylvania have suffered from Rebel invasion, and Ohio from Secessionist inroads. The efforts of the Swiss Sonderbundists, however, were repelled and chastised with a celerity and loss which did not occur in our own country.

The fall of Freyburg did not make a decided impression on the more violent partisans of the Separate League.—"Matters would be very different," they said, "in Lucerne and in the Primitive Cantons." "The Sonderbund General DI SALIS SOGLIO had at his disposal 30,000 men, at present entrenched behind impregnable positions. With such advantages he would be able," it was added, "to arrest for years the progress of General Dufour's 60,000

men." Lucerne was still proud of its victory over the "Free Companions" or Free Corps, in 1844 and 1845, and as for the Forest States, they were set down as unconquerable. A slight success gained at Dietwyl, in Argovia, on the 10th November, by the Secessionist forces of Schwytz had confirmed all these hopes. Nevertheless, on the 20th November, Zug, the Georgia, as to location, of the Sonderbund, "terrified by the very appearance of the Federal flag, and somewhat lukewarm moreover, in the cause of rebellion, offered to capitulate, and on the 21st abandoned the Sonderbund. This alarmed even the most ardent *Fire-eaters* at the very headquarters of resistance to law, although the discouraging intelligence reached Lucerne at the very moment when the Imperialist Prince Schwartzenberg was tendering his sword to the Ultramontane League, to which Austria had renewed her promises of pecuniary aid and other assistance. The opportune submission of Zug was doubly satisfactory. Its people received the Federals with rejoicing, and relieved them from the danger of a flank attack, not only throughout their advance, but at the very moment of their collision with the enemy. What is more, it enabled the Federals to completely turn the strongest works upon which the safety of Lucerne depended. It likewise obviated delay almost as dangerous to the Loyal party as a check or partial defeat, for the leaders of the Sonderbund had positive assurances of foreign intervention in their favor, if they only could hold out a few days longer.

In the selection of their leaders both the Loyal and Rebel Swiss presented a marked contrast to the action of our own people, whose infatuation leads them, too often, to entrust the direction of military affairs to civilians of little or no experience in such matters.

Another error into which we have fallen is the idea

that young officers are, *per se*, superior to old officers, because a few examples of precocious generalship have startled the world. People forget that Alexander, Gustavus, Frederic, and even Napoleon, were surrounded by experienced officers of the highest merit, and a veteran or excellent soldiery. DUFOUR, as was stated, was sixty. His opponent, DI SALIS-SOGLIO, was fifty seven. He belonged to the old aristocratic SALIS family, which even down to the year of his birth 1790, ruled alone, like sovereigns, in the democratic Grisons, with an influence indirectly absolute. He had served with distinction against Napoleon, so that he and Dufour commenced and ended their careers in opposing camps. Morally, however, each had changed sides. In 1813-'14, di Salis-Soglio was fighting for the Liberation of Germany from the curse of a tyranny, which Dufour, and this latter's defeated antagonist, Maillardoz were assisting to maintain. In 1847, di Salis-Soglio, although a Protestant, was commanding in behalf of the Jesuits, while Dufour was the champion of Free Thought and Liberty in general. It has been remarked that in the Swiss conflicts since the XVI century, the pedantic Protestants and the Jesuits, for their own interests, always joined hands with the Foreign Powers against the Liberals. Ochsenbein, aged thirty six, must have been a man of more than ordinary ability. He had been chief of the Federal Staff, President of the Berne Cantonal Administration, and, through that position, Presiding Officer of the Federal Diet. Afterwards he was a general in the service of Napoleon III. The other Division commanders justified the confidence of the nation.

After the conquest of Freyburg, DUFOUR'S next great object was the capture of LUCERNE. Even there, despite the apparent unanimity of Rebel sentiment, an element of loyalty existed, suppressed however with the greatest

severity. Moreover, while the Federal columns were concentrating for decisive action, many of the necessaries of life were already wanting in the main Rebel stronghold. Dufour now displayed as much Practical Strategy in his movements against this hot bed of seditition, as he had shown in his previous operations. Nor was the Swiss Federal Secretary of State less equal to his position than the gray-haired General.in-Chief. His course was the direct opposite of that pursued by our own high official in the same relative position. He would not allow the French Embassy to communicate with the traitor authorities in Lucerne, or afford any moral support to the Rebel main-army, strangling in the coil of the loyal Anaconda.

On the 16th November, Dufour transferred his headquarters to AARAU. This town lies on the Aar, about thirty miles N, N. W. of Lucerne. It is situated at the apex of an ellipse, whose butt is marked out by the curve of the Emme and Reuss. Opposite the centre of this convex, stands LUCERNE, at the foot of the lake of the Four Cantons. It is useless in this connection, to go into a detailed description of this city. It was the residence of the Papal Nuncio; since 1845 one of the headquarters of the Jesuits; contained, according to Murray, a population of eight thousand one hundred and fifty-nine Roman Catholics and one hundred and eighty Protestants; and had distinguished itself, during the two preceding years, by the persecution of its citizens opposed to the majority or dominant party. Of these prosecutions Zschokke remarks "No page in the history of Switzerland is stained with blacker sins in the administration of public justice." Lucerne not only resembled Charleston in the ultra-intolerance of its institutions but likewise in its military position. Just as that stronghold of Slavery, Nullification and Secession was formerly extremely defensible in itself, just so this centre of Ultramontanism or spiritual Serfdom and Sonderbundism was, a century since, a place of military importance, Even as the South Carolinian metropolis triumphantly repulsed a British attack in 1776, and was only captured after a sharp siege by Sir Henry Clinton in 1780; so the Swiss citadel, centre or pivot of the successive "Separate Leagues" had held its enemies at bay with its circle of massive feudal watch-towers, gothic battlements and walls. Both are no longer tenable in these days of improved artillery after their advanced works have fallen. Lucerne demonstrated and Charleston is now exemplifying that their safety depends on the maintenance of an exterior line of great natural strength. This line of defence, a little concave towards the Swiss town constitutes the shortest diameter of the egg-shaped district embraced within the most eastern and western of the five main roads, diverging from Aarau and converging to Lucerne, which band it like meridian lines. The principal positions which protect Lucerne, together, form a flattened arc having a chord of

twenty-two miles. Of this the eastern extremity rests on the lake of Zug and the western on the town of Willisau, on the Wigger, while its centre touches the southern extremity of the Lake of Sempach.

The Federal main army whose headquarters were at Aarau was distributed into four grand divisions, to break, with a simultaneous shock, through this line of formidable positions from the North. A column of the first, most easterly, army-corps so to speak advanced through the extreme eastern portion of Aargau, which thrusts itself South, far down, between the Cantons of Zug and Argovia. This district is known in Switzerland as the FREIAMT, or Free Bailiwicks. Prior to 1814, it had been a bone of contention, on a question of jurisdiction, between Zug and Argovia. Subsequent to that date, it proved an apple of discord in the Federal Diet. The Suppression of the Monastical institutions therein, for treasonable practices and violence against the established authorities, led, ostensibly, to the formation of the Sonderbund in 1843–'6–'7. As this district is flanked for about half its depth, by the territory of Zug, it was fortunate for the Federals that this Rebel Canton had submitted to them. Already a large portion of it had been militarily occupied by Union troops. The second column of the first corps, or Division-ZIEGLER, followed the 3d road, along the stream of the Winen, midway between the Hallwyler and Baldegger Lakes, to the East, and the Lake of Sempach, to the West, passing through Munster. This route bisected the Lucernese line of defence. The 2d corps, division-DONATS, advanced upon the 4th road, through Sursee, along the western shore of the Lake of Sempach and in sight of the battle fields of Buttisholz and Sempach, both so glorious to the republican Swiss; the first as disastrous to the English Free Companies, in 1375, as the second had been to the Austrians, in 1386. The 3d corps, division-BURCKHARDT, directed its march by the 5th and most western road upon Willisau, the extreme left of the Rebels. Meanwhile a 4th corps, reserve-division-OCHSENBEIN, threatened, from the West, the *left*-rear of the Lucernese, just as this force, under his orders, had menaced the right-rear of the Freyburghers. Ochsenbein, at this date a Federal Colonel, became, subsequently, a general in the service of Napoleon III. Having made a rapid return-march through Berne, he was, now, advancing thence, by the difficult, serpentine route through the Emmen-Thal and the Entlibuch. On the 22d November, he had an action at Escholzmatt, on the frontiers of the Canton of Lucerne. On the 23d a more serious engagement, five miles further on, occurred at Schupfheim. Thus advancing slowly and with difficulty, Ochsenbein was forcing his way through, to work in, at the time fixed, as directed, with the rest. This gallant officer now had an opportunity to retrieve the credit he had lost in 1845, by the failure of his aggressive movements on the same road, a failure attributable rather to the indiscipline of his Volunteer troops, (Free Corps) than to any fault of his own. At the same time a sixth column, the brigade-ZELLER, invaded Schwytz through the March, or mountain range, South of the eastern extremity of the Lake of Zurich, converging to take the right flank of the Lucernese line in reverse. A seventh column, the division GMUR, advanced through the bailiwick of Knonau, about two miles west from CAPPEL, where the magnanimous Zwingli, the First of the Great Reformers, was murdered in cold blood, after the battle of the 11th of October, 1531, in which he had been present as Chaplain. He was killed, by a

Roman-Catholic Captain of Unterwalden, while lying wounded and speechless on the field. In like manner, the Romanist Captain of the Swiss Guards of the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III of France, assassinated the Prince of Conde after the battle of Jarnac, 12th or 13th March 1569. The Prince had surrendered and was sitting, exhausted, propped against a tree, with his thigh bone fractured and protruding, when his murderer galloped up and shot him through the head. The same spirit had prompted the Slaughter of the Free Corps and animated many partisans of the Sonderbund. This distribution of the Federal forces is founded on a comparison of the language of Zschokke and Richon, the historians at hand, who present the most detailed accounts of the military movements.

Dufour intended to distract the enemy's attention by these seven distinct menaces and deceive them as to the point on which his real attack was directed. His superiority of force doubtless justified this disposition, although his different divisions and columns were divided from each other by huge mountains, dangerous defiles, broad lakes and rapid streams. He knew that the Rebels would have the greatest difficulty in reinforcing a weak point even if they attempted to do so, while their whole line was equally endangered. Having thus divided the attention of the Rebel leaders and attracted it to so many different quarters, he rapidly massed the bulk of his troops in the point of the Freiamt, shut in between the river Reuss, on the East, and the high range of the Linderberg, to the west. About ten miles north-east of Lucerne, these come together. This acute triangle has a base only five miles wide at Muri, ten miles north of Klein-Dietwyl, half a mile from its apex. A little less than a mile beyond this point, the road crossed the Reuss by a covered bridge, whose issue on the south shore was swept by the heavy artillery of a strong bridge-head. Here the road coming in from the N. E., from Brugg, and the lake of Zug, joined the route from Muri and continued on, through Roth or Root, to Lucerne. Both ran under the fortified heights of the Rothenberg, and, opposite the fork, stood the village of GISLIKON, covered by extensive field works. These strong intrenchments had been finished several months previous, despite the summons of the Federal Diet to stop their construction. Since their completion, the Rebels had guaranteed their possession by constantly maintaining strong garrisons therein. Gislikon had thus become the key to Lucerne on the North. The Lake of the Forest Cantons precluded attack from the South or immediate rear.

On the afternoon of the 22d of November, the confined funnel or triangle between Muri and Dietwyl, above described, was literally gorged or overflowing with troops, destined to make the grand attack. Forward they must when the order to advance was given. The impulsion from the rear would have forced on those in front if their enthusiasm had failed. Momentum would have lent its immense forces to mass. This proved emphatically so, for the leading battalions carried the Rebel works with a rush. Just as FREDERIC stormed the heights of Lissa in 1757; just as LAUDOHN escaladed the ramparts of Schweidnitz in 1761; just as WAYNE charged bayonet into Stony Point in 1779; just as SUWARROW captured Ismail by assault in 1790, and Praga in 1794; and just as the French columns, in the narrow streets of Paris, charged over the insurgent barricades, in 1848 and 1851—their front ranks carried over, dead or alive, by the accelerated pressure of those

behind—just so the Federals poured into the Rebel intrenchments on the ensuing day. This we shall see but more in detail.

During the night of the 22d and 23d November, the Federals threw two bridges of boats across the Reuss, one below the ruins of the permanent structure at Sins, three miles North of Dietwyl, which had been destroyed by the Sonderbundists, the other above the covered bridge of Gislikon. Early on the morning of the 23d, the sub-division EGLOFF crossed by the lower pontoon bridge to turn the Rothenberg from the side of Zug. This manœuvre against the extreme Rebel right, brought on a sharp and protracted conflict which lasted throughout the day. The sub-divisions under Brigadiers ISLER and RITTER, sweeping round to take the enemy's right in reverse, encountered the Rebels advantageously posted on sheltered, rising ground, in the vicinity of Meyers-kappel. The defenders were chiefly Riflemen from the Forest Cantons, armed with weapons to whose use they had been accustomed since their childhood. After a hot conflict, these were compelled to abandon their position. They retreated, fighting however, behind Udligenschwyl to the Kiemenberg. Here they formed again in order of battle and, again, were driven back, disputing every inch of ground to Ebikon, three miles north of Lucerne. This was between 2 and 3 P. M. when they were abandoned by their artillery, which galloped off into the invested town. Thus deserted and having to depend upon their rifles alone, the Unterwalden Battalion still held Ebikon after Lucerne itself had surrendered. Entirely forgotten by their generals, the Rebel authorities, in fact by their whole party, they still presented an undaunted front when their superiors had fled and all the other troops had submitted. All honor to these brave mountain men although fighting in the defence of erroneous principles and obsolete ideas.

Before nightfall, despite the desperate resistance they had encountered, the Federals had thus fought their way to the summit of the Kiemenberg, in the rear of Gislikon. These heights, so gallantly won, commanded the main rebel fortifications, upon which so much skill and labor had been expended in vain. Here the victors bivouaced within six miles, to the N. E.. of Lucerne.

Meanwhile the sub-division-EGLOFF stormed the heights in the rear of Honau, after the Zurich artillery had silenced the rebel guns in that position. Driving the enemy before them, they crowned a second summit which commanded Gislikon. Here the two sub-divisions ZIEGLER and EGLOFF were to have effected a junction, and, thence, to have moved, simultaneously, against the principal defences of the Sonderbundists. This junction did not take place. Ziegler's division had passed the Reuss later on the 23d, by the upper bridge of boats, above Gislikon, to attack the north side of the Rothenberg. These troops, however, had a mighty task before them, and were correspondingly delayed. They had not only to face the heavy artillery in the works enfilading the debouches of the covered bridge of Gislikon, but also those around the village itself. Besides this, the heights of Gislikon were traversed by trenches lined with the practiced riflemen of Unterwalden, and the ridges of the mountain were occupied by militia, accustomed to the use of fire-arms and completely sheltered from their assailants, in the woods.

Finally, amid shouts which must have been heard in Lucerne, the heights and defences of GISLIKON were car

ried and the loyal artillery of Soleure established there. The rebel Commander-in-Chief, however inferior to Dufour in Strategy, was not wanting to himself, in energy, at this crisis. He headed the rebel troops and made such a desperate counter-attack upon the successful Federals that they were forced to give ground. Fortunately this part of the field admitted the rapid manœuvring of artillery. A Bernese 12-pdr. howitzer battery was brought up at full gallop and poured a storm of shell upon the opposing guns. It is claimed that out of sixty shots fired, fifty hit the points aimed at. They exploded the ammunition boxes of the rebel artillery, and dispersed the cannoneers in an instant. Salis-Soglio himself was wounded by the fragment of a shell. Everything was thrown into irremediable confusion. This artillery charge, improvised by Colonel Denzler of Zurich, like the Dragoon charge made by the younger Kellerman, or the Artillery volley of Marmont at Marengo, decided the fate of the day. It was now 4 P. M. Among the Rebels all was terror and confusion. The fortifications of Gislikon were abandoned; the militia had already fled from their coverts. There was fighting on the heights however until night-fall.—But as darkness closed in the horizon towards the north-east and north was all aglow with the bivouac-fires of the victors. To the west likewise, the sky was illuminated, for, while the principal fighting had been going on so fiercely towards the north, Ochsenbein's leading battalions had occupied the plateau and heights of Littau, within three miles of Lucerne. The city was completely at the mercy of Dufour. He demanded an unconditional surrender, and the haughty Charleston of the Sonderbund was forced to throw itself upon the mercy of the Federal Chief. Thus Dufour, who had smothered the fire of rebellion in Freyburg in five days, in seven more days quenched

this furnace of revolt. The next morning, the 24th November, an apparently almost endless procession of victorious Unionists poured into the city. To the corps which had so distinguished themselves upon the Rothenberg, and those which had fought their way, step by step, for twenty five miles, through the upper Entlibach, were now united the Brigade, or Division, Gmur, which had crossed the Canton of Schwytz, thro the March, and the third division, whose unopposed advance, through the valley of Hitzkirch, had been a mere military promenade. Such a magnificent spectacle had never before been witnessed in the Confederation; 60,000 citizen-soldiery perfectly organized with all their material and equipages, swelled the triumphant procession of Loyalty through the streets of the Rebel city. With the troops returned the crowds of proscribed Unionists, who had been exiled on account of their reformed faith and liberal opinions. Every generous heart will sympathize with their joy and glory in such a restoration to their native seats.

Previous, however, to the surrender of Lucerne, and while Salis-Soglio still held out hopes of being able to maintain his ground at Ebikon, the Jesuits who had been the moving cause of all the bloodshed, the expenditure, the losses, and the misery consequent on the Separate League, the Sonderbund Council of War, the prominent factious, and even associations of monks and nuns, fled from the town. These embarked, under the protection of a company of infantry, on board of a steamboat already prepared. Twenty land-jagers served as a guard to the fugitives. They carried with them the treasure and seals of the State, the archives of the Rebel Council of War, important official documents, the booty captured by the foray into the Canton of Ticino, and stores of grain. Thus they escaped into mountains, and thence into foreign

countries, leaving rich individuals, who had fostered, and wealthy institutions, which had favored, the rebellion, to pay dearly for their wicked co-operation with treason. This may prefigure the fate of our Secession Leaders and Abettors. Like the leading Swiss traitors they may save their worthless lives to expiate in exile and poverty or contumely, amid the hatred and execrations of their dupes, the evil and sorrow they have brought home to the firesides of our common country.

On the 25th, the Cantons of Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden, belonging to the Sonderbund (corresponding to Alabama, Mississippi and Florida in this country), which, in 1798, displayed so much heroism against the French, imitated the prudence of the people of Freyburg, and of Lucerne, and capitulated.

Here we should observe a fact extremely pertinent to our own situation. Notwithstanding the extreme defensibleness of the mountains of Switzerland,—particularly those of the original Forest Cantons, embraced within the limits of the Sonderbund,—as soon as Lucerne had yielded, the Rebel Leaders, at once, acknowledged that the fate of Swiss Secession depended upon the possession of the large fortified towns, and upon the maintenance of the armies massed in and about them. This should be a consolation to those who fear that a Guerilla War in the South can lead to any successful result or defer, for more than a short period, its entire subjugation. The Sonderbund Generals saw at a glance the game was up, after their armies had been dissipated and the principal places taken. So it will be with our Southern Secession. It will collapse at once when the armies of Lee, Bragg, Beauregard, Johnson and Magruder are destroyed.

On the 29th November, the Valais,—beyond the lofty

Bernese Alps and along the Rhone,—which might be said to represent the Rebel territory beyond the Mississippi,—the Texas and most remote border State of Switzerland, the focus of retrogade ideas, bordering on the most bigoted district of Sardinia, petitioned to be received back into the Union.

Meanwhile on the 27th November, 23 days after the decree of the Diet or Congress, had ordered the Swiss General to draw his sword and unfurl the Federal standard, the military chief of the Union was enabled to announce that the Secession Alliance was dissolved. The fire-eating Cantons had gained nothing by their rashness but the humiliating conviction of their own weakness as compared with the Federal power and will.*

Let Traitors and Demagogues, whom the thirst for power induces to pander to spiritual and material despotism, read a lesson in the fate of the Swiss Sonderbund, Separate or Secession League, and its Leaders. "That (Separate League) which had been proclaimed before Europe as the rock of religion and of true freedom, collapsed at the first dash of the waves like a house built upon the sand." It is to be hoped that the Cotton-States-Confederate-League, built upon the corner stone of Slavery, will likewise utterly perish between the shattering of war and the earthquake of moral regeneration. The spiritual guides (not inaptly reproduced in our own country by the slavocrat divines) who had excited their dupes to rebellion in Switzerland by pretended miracles, had not inspired them with the same resolution, to maintain the

* It is but just to myself to state that an Article entitled "SECESSION IN SWITZERLAND" was furnished by me, in February, 1861, to the New York Evening Post, and published in the first column, first page, of that paper. If the example which the Swiss Authorities presented for our Instruction, had been imitated by our Government, this War would not have dragged on through fearful years. Nevertheless the Delay has been Providential, for it has effectually solved the Problem, whether Slavery or the Union shall survive, and proved that Slavery is incompatible with Free Institutions. Now that Slavery is doomed, if we are faithful to God and true to ourselves, what a glorious Career looms up before our Nation in the Future. J. W. DE P.

independence of the Separate League, that their real wrongs and a good cause had given them to win and maintain the freedom of the same districts, centuries before and against greater odds. "The Jesuits had everywhere fled on the entrance of the Confederates," says Zschokke, "now they were forever banished from Swiss soil." The rebellion had been so promptly extinguished that the French envoy actually had not time to proffer foreign assistance, or even to propose to mediate between the Federal Diet and the Council of War of the Seven Rebel Cantons. Its members were already fugitives when the French messenger went to seek them. At the outbreak of hostilities the French ministers with other Diplomatists had retired to neutral or, as we would term it, "copperhead" or "peace-party" NEUCHATEL. That Canton and another, INNER-APPENZELL, which had refused to perform their duty as loyal Confederates during the war, were subjected to very heavy fines for the benefit of the reorganized Confederation.

Nor were the Expulsion of the Jesuits and the pecuniary sufferings of the Neutral Sonderbund, the only consequences of this mad attempt "to arrest the effulgent chariot of Holy Liberty." "Lucerne," temporarily ruined, "instituted judicial suits against the members of her former council for embezzlement of the public money, and confiscated the estates of those who provoked the war." "Shortly afterwards she sought a doubtful remedy by suppressing the convents, that she might be indemnified by their property; and the people before whose veto the decree was laid, did not refuse their consent." The members of the Freyburg Council who had voted for the Separate League "were brought to a most severe account in discharging the war expenses." "The Valais, also, laid almost all her share of the expenses upon those who had voted for, advised and preached the war." These burthens had to be especially borne by the monastical and other ecclesiastical institutions which had hoped to profit by the rebellion. In fact the Sonderbund Cantons were called upon to reimburse the War Expenses incurred by the Confederacy. They were militarily occupied until the first installment had been paid and adequate security given for the balance. "Great reforms now took place (in 1848) in all the Cantons of the former Sonderbund. *Even in* URI, *where, since* TELL'S *time, no written constitution had ever existed, one was now drawn up and accepted* by the communes."

No Failure could have been more decided, no Sup-

pression more mortifying than that of the Ultramontane or SECESSION LEAGUE in Switzerland. No Action could have been more prompt and energetic, no Triumph more complete and beneficial than that of the Swiss Loyalists or Union party.

"One cannot too much admire the calm firmness which the men who presided over the destinies of the Confederation manifested in 1847. Menaced by France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and having at their disposal only a portion of the forces of a nation which does not possess altogether two millions and a half of citizens, they were discouraged neither by the intrigues of the monks, nor by the anathemas of the Romish clergy; by the anger of certain empirics, nor by the military reputation of those Cantons, which were so sadly misled by fatal influences. What an example for such countries as are wont to be alarmed on account of their comparative weakness! *Switzerland has taught them that a people, conscious of its right, and resolved to defend it, has nothing to fear on earth.*"

This Triumph of Patriotism realized the Truth of Zschokke's prophetic declaration, that "*Heaven helps only those who march joyously to battle and to death in a just cause; but rejects those who sit sluggishly in arrogant security.*"

Eighteen days of military operations, which might even be reduced to fifteen of manœuvring and fighting, annihilated the Sonderbund. The history of the world presents but few examples of such a speedy solution of a great political problem. The most pertinent examples are the destruction, in a few days, of the Bohemian Kingdom of the Elector-Palatine, FREDERIC, by the generals of Ferdinand II; the total defeat of the Belgian armies, in eight days, by the heroic PRINCE OF ORANGE, and the complete overthrow, in three days, of the Sardinian armaments by RADETSKY. Compared however with the rout of the WEISSEN-BERG, in 1620, the conflicts of HASSELT in 1830, and the battle of NOVARA, in 1849, the combat of GISLIKON, in 1847, was a mere fiasco. "A whiff of grape-shot," to use a Napoleonic expression, or, more properly speaking, a flurry of shells, blew away the pretentions of the Sonderbund.

The final result seems to justify the idea that the mad-

ness and incipient success of the Separate League was permitted by Providence, in order that its suppression might convince Switzerland of the defects of its *dislocated* Confederacy, and induce the Cantons to consent to a more determined Centralization of authority.

The Separate League which was to have divided Switzerland; to have arrested the progress of the age; to have restored abuses for the benefit of the few to the suffering of the many; had a directly opposite result. It transmuted the loose Confederation of XXII Independent Cantons into a well-knit Nationality of twenty two members.

May the example not be lost upon us. May Providence conduct our affairs to the same happy result that he vouchsafed in the case of the Swiss, must be the prayer of every honest man and true patriot.

The lessons of this history we think can scarcely be lost upon us. The effort to shatter the ALPINE REPUBLIC, in a brief period, proved a miserable failure, and the attempt here made to divide and destroy our Free Government, we know will, in God's good time, come to naught. And even as the National Life Struggle, in Switzerland, ended in a more healthy and vigorous NATIONAL EXISTENCE, so, we trust, that the fiery trial through which we as a people are now passing, will eventuate not only in a restored UNITY, but, if need be, in a STRONGER DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, better fitted to perform its great work, and hold its commanding position among the Nations.

"God of our Fathers, hear our earnest Cry!
Our Hope, our Strength, our Refuge is in Thee.
Confound our Foes, and make their Legions fly;
Strengthen our Hosts and give them Victory!
Victory!—Victory!—
Oh, God of Armies, give us Victory!"

"For the sad Millions of the groaning Earth,
Helpless and crushed beneath Oppression's Rod,
For every Hope that hallows Home and Hearth,
For heaven-born Liberty, the Child of God,
Victory!—Victory!—
God of the Nations, give us Victory!

"From War's red Hell, involved in smoke and flame,
From up-piled Altars of our noblest Dead,
We cry to Thee! oh, for Thy glorious Name,
Make bare Thine Arm and smite our Foes with dread,
VICTORY!—VICTORY!—
OH, GOD OF BATTLES, GIVE US VICTORY!"

ANCHOR.

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